Hondа Angel-cynnan:

OR

A COMPLEAT VIEW

OF THE

Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c.

OF THE

INHABITANTS OF ENGLAND,

from the ARRIVAL of the SAXONS,

till the REIGN of HENRY the EIGHTH.

WITH

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BRITONS,

during the Government of the ROMANS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By JOSEPH STRUTT,

Author of the REGAL and ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND.

VOL. II.

This deepe desire hath lastly moved me
On Pilgrimage *Times* traces to ensue,
The relickes of his ruines for to see;
And for the love of my deere Nation due,
The things concerning them which I did view,
Tending to Englisn honour earst concealed,
Here in my Travels-Map I have revealed.

VERSTEGAN'S *Prefatory Poem to his Restitution of Decayed Antiquities.*

LONDON:

Sold by BENJAMIN WHITE, at HORACE'S HEAD, in FLEET-STREET.

MDCCLXXV.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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THE.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE NORMANS CONTINUED.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A ſhort View of the Riſe and Progreſs of ARCHITECTURE.

ONE of the firſt conſiderations of mankind in the earlier ages, was that of contriving ſomewhat by way of habitation, whoſe hoſpitable roof might ſhroud them from the inclemency of the weather. While the ground was yet untilled, and food unprovided, they contented themſelves with holes and caverns in the friendly earth, or dwelt in ſuch miſerable huts as could be with ſpeed erected; but as mankind increaſed, and the ground (in proportion to the labour beſtowed upon it) became more fruitful and enriched, leſs trouble was found neceſſary to be beſtowed, and time by degrees grew upon their hands. Their next care then was to make more ſuitable habitations for themſelves; ſtill changing, ſtill improving, till at length they began to conceive ideas of grandeur and elegance; from houſes for themſelves, they proceeded to erect lofty temples for their gods, and ſtately palaces for their kings and heroes. The architect had then his rules laid down; ſymmetry and juſt proportion became neceſſary. Thus aroſe the ſeveral orders of architecture, and the laboured ornaments of the conſequential ſtructures.

So, through a long continued ſeries of time, one may trace the various ſtates and vaſt improvements made in this ſingle art throughout each period, varied according to the different genius of the people, or taſte of the architect.

But to confine this diſcourſe to what relates to our national improvements only, it will not be improper to begin with the earlieſt accounts, conſequently ſuch rude and uncouth huts, as the warlike Britons made for themſelves. Of theſe, and their truly wretched ſtate, we have already ſeen what has been ſaid by Cæſar, Diodorus, and other antient authors, therefore there needs no further comment here. We have alſo heard from the faithful Tacitus, that little improvement either was or could be made in their buildings, until the time of Julius Agricola, under whom the diſtreſſed Britons enjoyed ſome ſhew of peace, and learned the Roman arts.

See page 4 of vol. 1.

Ibid page 5.

But yet even through this unfavourable proſpect, ſhines the more ancient ſpecimens of the genius and ability of the Britons. That ſtupendous edifice *Stone-Henge*, is yet a laſting monument of their indefatigable labours and ingenuity, which, though devoid of the elegance that ſo forcibly marks out the Greek or Roman workmen, yet (conſidering the abject ſtate of the arts amongſt the earlier Britons) its juſt proportion, and the magnitude of the ſtones wherewith it is compoſed, render it moſt juſtly deſerving the admiration of mankind. It alſo further proves, that not their want of genius, but of leiſure to cultivate the arts, was the only obſtruction to their further progreſs.

During the government of the Romans, indeed, the architecture became much more improved, and their deſigns more elegant. The Britons, in proportion as the Roman yoke became more tolerable and eaſy, began gradually to adopt the manners and cuſtoms of that people, affecting to learn even their manner of ſpeech, and modes of habit.

From theſe then remaining ſtructures of the Romans, and of the Britons in imitation of the Romans, was borrowed the taſte and faſhion of the more elegant edifices of the Saxons. The arches of the Saxon buildings are round, the architecture plain and ſimple; the ornaments but few, and thoſe chiefly conſiſted of foliages and branches interwoven with heads of birds, beaſts, &c. Theſe ornaments were chiefly confined to the capitals of the columns, or elſe they were uſed to beautify the corniſh or architrave. Sometimes, indeed, the heads of the columns were ornamented with figures repreſenting a particular piece of hiſtory (in bas-relievo) relative to the foundation of the building wherein they were placed; or elſe the hiſtory of their patron ſaints, as may be ſeen upon the capitals of ſeveral old columns in the church of Ely, whereon there is repreſented the life of Etheldreda, a pious virgin, who rebuilt that church and monaſtery, being herſelf elected abbeſs, and after her death ſhe was canonized as a ſaint.

See the Account of St. Peter's at Oxford, vol. 1, page 34.

All the arches found in the delineations of the Saxons, are very plain, their only ornament conſiſting of regular corniſhes; ſuch arches, indeed, as compoſe the doors and entrances, are at times enriched with double and treble corniſhes, without any other ornament whatever.

I muſt own I cannot fall into the opinion of many learned men, who have given us, as Saxon, arches crouded with mouldings and various ornaments. I rather think, that on a ſtricter examination, they will be found to be the work of Norman artiſts. Firſt, becauſe no ſuch ornaments appear in the delineations of the Saxons; and ſecondly, becauſe they are ſo ſtrictly agreeable to the taſte of the later buildings, which we find from record, are moſt certainly of Norman conſtruction.

We may perhaps be led, on ſight of an antient Saxon building, to think it ſtanding in its original purity; yet when we reflect how long it muſt have ſtood, and of courſe what repairs it muſt have undergone, we ſhall begin to doubt, particularly when daily experience ſhews us, that in making ſuch repairs, the workmen were ſeldom attentive to the antient ſtile in which the building at firſt was erected, but carried on the work according to the ſtile that they themſelves were uſed to; elſe whence this irregular jumble of Saxon, Norman, and Gothic architecture, which too often occur in the remaining relicks of antiquity?

If

If this then is the caſe, as it moſt certainly is, can we with any confidence affirm, how much of ſuch ornaments or decorations may owe their origin to the antient, how much to the more modern architect? or how, from ſo imperfect a model, can we with certainty trace out any criterion by which we may determine the true diſtinction of the Saxon from the Norman architecture?

May we not thus conclude, (becauſe both in the delineations and authentic remains it appears ſo) that the Saxon arch was quite plain, and that the more we find the arches ornamented, the further we may ſuppoſe them advancing into the Norman Æra? I would not, however, be thought to mean, that the Saxons never uſed any other ornament than foliages, &c. as are above deſcribed; 'tis likely they might, though ſeldom, add (particularly in latter times) the zig-zag ornament between the plain corniſhes and mouldings.

The Normans, for ſome time after their arrival into England, ſtill continued the round arch, which was (as Dr. Ducarrel juſtly obſerves) very plain and ſimple in the days of the Conqueror, but not long after it was made more complex; and at laſt (the arched door ways eſpecially of the cathedrals and other ſtately edifices) became ſo loaded with mouldings, zig-zags, heads, figures, and other ornaments, that they ſoon loſt ſight of all elegance and ſimplicity. In his Anglo-Norman Antiq. page 103.

About this period, that is, in the latter end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelvth centuries, a new ſpecies of architecture was introduced into England, commonly called *Gothic*, differing in all reſpects from any of the preceding orders. Its rules ſeem (if rules they may be called) at all times to have been ſuch as are laid down by the caprice of the architect, or the will of the employer. However, the effect in general is pleaſing and elegant, agreeing perfectly with the romantic taſte and genius of our anceſtors. There is alſo a ſurpaſſing grandeur in ſome of the Gothic edifices. Who can enter Weſtminſter-Abbey, and not be ſtruck with awful reverence? The gloomy grandeur of that venerable pile, muſt fill the feeling ſoul with ſolemn contemplation!

To what country we firſt owe this more modern ſpecies of architecture, is not known; the common received opinion is, that it was brought from abroad by the knights who attended on the holy wars. Some few inſtances (yet remaining) ſhew us, that at the firſt introduction of the pointed or Gothic arch, it was mixed alternately with the round arch. The Gothic ſtile of building was very plain and ſimple in the time of king Stephen, as may be ſeen by the Abbey Chapel built by him, exhibited at the bottom of plate 26 in the firſt vol. But this ſimplicity continued not long, for the more modern Gothic buildings were highly enriched with mouldings, arches, figures, turrets, &c. as appears in the old part of Weſtminſter Abbey, Hen. the VIIth's Chapel, and St. George's Chapel at Windſor. On the tops of the two laſt buildings, are numerous little turrets, and the roofs on the inſide are moſt beautifully carved in ſtone; ſo alſo is the roof of that elegant edifice, the Chapel of King's College at Cambridge, which was built by Henry the Sixth.

Within the buildings they affected to make the arches large and lofty, and ſo contrived the columns, that they conſtantly appear like many ſmall ones joined in one body; and from the top they are continued branching forth, to ſupport the roof; by this means all that heavineſs is taken off, which would of courſe accompany a building made with large unweildy pillars.

Plate

Plate 65, No. 2, repreſents the building of the Abbey of St. Albans, where we ſee the architect with his utenſils, the ſquare and the compaſſes, deſcribing to his employer the nature and conſtruction of the building. The artificers are buſy, ſome hammering out and placing the work, while others are drawing up the ſtones in a bucket or baſket, faſtened to a rope, which paſſing over two pullies is drawn up by a wheel with handles at the bottom; while thoſe above are alſo employed, one with his plummet trying the truth of an arch, and his oppoſite fellow is placing a ſtone with great exactneſs. In the firſt plate of this volume, fig. 2, is a ſpecimen of the Saxon arch, from the antient MS. of Cædman, at Oxford, while thoſe repreſented by the figures 1 & 3, are Norman; the firſt is the door way to St. Botolph's Priory, vide page 102, vol. 1; and the laſt the door of the church at Great Canfield in Eſſex; 4, 5, & 6, are the capitals of Saxon columns ſtanding in the old church of St. Peter at Oxford, built in the time of Elfred; ſee page 34 of the firſt volume; and fig. 7 repreſents a capital from the above MS. of Cædman.

Regal Courts and Governments of the NORMANS.

The regal courts of the Saxons may ſerve as a picture to explain thoſe of the Normans, which were nearly the ſame in almoſt every reſpect, except, perhaps, (ſtill advancing as we are in luxury) the appearance of our Norman courtiers might be ſtill more rich and brilliant. At the coronations of the Norman kings eſpecially, as well as on the royal birth days and ſolemn feſtivals, no kind of profuſion was ſpared, either of wealth or banquetting. The houſes were ſet out with lights, with ringing of bells, and numerous bonfires for the delight of the common people; and the conduits running wine inſtead of water; mean while, at the royal feaſt, no kind of rich luxurious meats were wanting.

The lords, barons, and knights, paſſed the time in public ſhews, tilts, and tournaments, making their appearance in the moſt coſtly and ſplendid attire, every one ſtriving to outdo his fellow in elegance, richneſs, and newneſs of faſhion; and this emulation was then eſteemed very laudable, becauſe it redounded to the nation's honour, to exhibit the opulence and grandeur of its inhabitants.

Wm. Hakewell's Book de Modus tenendi Parliamentum, p. 1.

The form of government, indeed, ſuffered a material change in the time of the Normans.

Edward the Confeſſor, the laſt of the Saxon line, laid the firſt foundation of our preſent mode of parliament, * which was reſtored with full force by Henry the

* "This noble body of the ſtate, now called both houſes in parliament, is known in ſeveral ages by ſeveral names, *Conſilia*, the counſels in the old times, after *Magnum*, *Commune*, & *Generale*, *Conſilium*, *Curia Magna*, *Capitalis* & *Curia Regis*; ſometimes *Generale Placitum*, and ſometimes *Synodi* & *Synodalia*, *Decreta*, although as well the Cauſes of the commonwealth as of the church were there decided. The name of parliament, except in the Abbot's Chapters, not heard of untill the reign of king *John*, and then but rarely. At the king's court were theſe conventions uſually made, and the preſence, privy chamber, or other room convenient for the king, in former times was uſed."——From the Poſthumous Remains of that learned Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton. page 44.

the Firſt; for, ſays Hollingſhead, "Here it is to be noted, that before this tyme, the kings of England uſed but ſeldome to call together the eſtates of the realm after any certaine manner, or generall kind of proceſſe, to have theyr conſents in matters to be decreed; but as the lords of the privie counſel in our time do ſitte only when neceſſitie requireth, ſo did they whenſoever it pleaſed the king to have any conference with them; ſo that from this Henry, it may be thought the firſte uſe of the parliament to have proceeded, whyche ſith that time hath remayned in force, and is frequented unto our times, in ſo much, that whatſoever is to be decreed apperteyning to the ſtate of the common wealth, and conſervation thereof, is now referred to that counſell: and furthermore, if any thing be appointed by the king, or any other perſon, to be uſed for the welth of the realme, it ſhall not bee recieved as a lawe till by authoritie of this aſſembly it bee eſtabliſhed; and bycauſe the houſe ſhoulde not be troubled with the multitude of unlearned comoners, whoſe propertie is to underſtand little reaſon, and yet to conceive well of their owne doings, there was a certayne order taken what maner of eccleſiaſticall perſons, and what number and ſorte of temporall menne, ſhould be called unto the ſame; and how they ſhuld be choſen, by voyces of freeholders, that being as atturneys for their countreys, that whiche they confeſſed or denyed ſhuld bind the reſidue of the realme to recieve it as a law. This counſell is called a parliament by a French word, for ſo the Frenchmen call their publique aſſemblies." Holling-ſhead Chron. p. 354.

Thus we find what before lay in the breaſts of the king and his privy council alone to do, was now to be firſt confirmed not only by the grandees of the realm, but alſo by voices of the common people, who by their repreſentatives, the knights of the ſhire, burgeſſes and others, made known their grievances, as coming from themſelves, who moſt felt, and beſt underſtood, the extent of ſuch grievances.

The three eſtates, namely, the clergy, nobility, and commoners, ſat in the houſe, every man according to his degree in pre-eminence and dignity. The whole parliament conſiſted of ſix degrees. Firſt, Mod. tenendi Parliam. page 31.

The king is the head, the beginning and ending, and ſo he hath not any peer or equal.

The ſecond degree is of archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, &c. holding by baronies.

The third is of proctors of the clergy, or clerks of the convocation.

The fourth is of earls, barons, and others, great and noble perſonages.

The fifth degree is of the knights of the ſhire.

The ſixth degree is of the citizens and burgeſſes.

And though any one of the five degrees (beſides the king) ſhall be abſent, yet premoniſhed by ſummons, the parliament is taken for full.

In the ſame little book quoted above, entitled, *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, the author has given us a tranſlation of an old *Anglo-Daniſh* law, in the following words:—"It was ſometimes in the Engliſh laws, that the people and the laws were in reputation, and then were the wiſeſt of the people worſhip-worthy, each in his degree, lord and *chorle*, *theyne*, and *undertheyne*; and if a *chorle** ſo thrived that he had full five hides of his own land, a church and kitchen, a bell-houſe Ibid. p. 97. Vid. Verſtegan, p. 330.

* Chorle or Ceorler, the ſame with *Gemen*, or *Yemen*, ſignified a commoner.—See Verſtegan page 330.

houſe and a gate, a ſeat and ſeveral offices in the king's hall, then was he thenceforth the *theyn*'s ‡ right worthy. And if a *theyn* ſo thrived that the king employed him, either on his meſſage, or to ride in his trayne, and had himſelf a *theyne* that followed him, who had five hides of land, and had ſerved his lord in the king's palace, and gone with his meſſages to the king, he was worthy to be reputed a hlafoꝛd, or *lord*, and continuing to augment his credit and means, he might afterwards come to be an *earle right worthy*, which after our now-uſed ſtile, may be a right honourable earl. And if a merchant ſo thrived that he paſſed thrice over the wide ſea with his own craft, he was thenceforth the *theyn*'s right-worthy. And if a ſcholler ſo thrived through learning, that he had degree, and ſerved Chriſt, he was thenceforward of dignity and peace ſo much worthy as thereto belonged, unleſſe he forfeited ſo, that the uſe of his dignity might be taken from him." Thus the path to nobility was open to all who by their good deportment were deſirous of attaining it. "And" continues my author, "the ruins of antiquity make ſhew of a perpetuity of nobility, even from the beginning of this iſland; but times are changed, and we in them alſo; for Edward the Confeſſor, coming out of Normandy, brought in the title of baron: the *theyne* from that time began to grow out of uſe, ſo as at this day it ſcarcely remains but in record; while the new title of *baron* ſo encreaſed in power and dignity, that the nomination of *baronage* ſeemed to comprehend the whole of the Engliſh nobility.

Mod. ten. Par. p. 99.

The antient name of *duke* may be ſaid to be as it were fetched from a long exile, by Edward the Third, by whom it began to be reſtored. *Marques* and *vizcount* are titles which we owe to Richard the Second, and after him to the unfortunate Henry the Sixth.

Our kings (deſcended from the Norman line) granted an hereditary right of ſucceſſion of ſuch titles as earls, barons. &c. without any exception being made to the ſex; ſo that the nobility had, according to the ancient cuſtoms and uſages of this kingdom, a natural right, (the ſame as the crown itſelf) that on the failure of male heirs, the title ſhould devolve and be confirmed to the women, (ſome few caſes excepted, where in the charters it is expreſsly confined to the heirs male) and by them ſuch titles might by marriage be conveyed into other families.

The ſucceeding kings from the Conqueror, were more ſparing in the diſtribution of ſuch dignities to be holden of them in fee, becauſe they granted with them to the nobleman (for the more reſpectable maintenance of his family and honour) the third part of the pleas of that province; in charters it is named *Tertium Denarium*, third penny; ſo he that received the third penny of a province, was the earl of that province, which right deſcended alſo to the daughters of the earl, on the default of male iſſue.

The title of baron had the ſame privilege, for the women (on want of male heirs) antiently were not debarred from that honourable title, with the preeminence and dignity of barons, and, having borne a child, they graced their huſbands with the title, which likewiſe by the ſame inheritance deſcended to the children, and this even though they had loſt poſſeſſion of ſuch eſtates as thoſe dignities may have firſt ariſen from.

The

* Theyn, Thegn, or Thein, amongſt our anceſtors (ſays Verſtegan) ſignified a free ſervant, a kind of retainer, or, as it may ſeeme, a *ſerving gentleman*, that is, a ſervant not bound or ſubject unto any ſervile office or labour.—Verſtegan, page 330.

The Conqueror (after the death of Harold) having ſettled himſelf in the kingdom, compleatly finiſhed the before imperfect ground work of nobility, which being added to continually by his ſucceſſors, ſhone with ſuch luſtre in the reigns of Henry the Third, Edward the Firſt, and the ſucceeding kings.

Laws and Adminiſtration of Juſtice:

The Conqueror (as Hollingſhead poſitively affirms) was the firſt who inſtituted the jewry of twelve men, by whom juſtice might be rendered, and a fair trial given to every man obnoxious to the penal law.—" He ordeyned alſo (ſays the author) that the tearmes ſhould be kept four times in the yere, in ſuche places as he ſhould nominate*, and that the judges ſhould ſit in their ſeverall places, to judge and decide cauſes and matters in controverſie betwixte partie and partie, in manner as is uſed unto this day:—he decreed, moreover, that there ſhoulde bee ſheriffes in every ſhire, and juſtices of the peace to keepe the countreys in good quiet, and to ſee offenders puniſhed. Furthermore, hee inſtituted the court of the excheker, and the officers belonging to the ſame, as barons, the clearkes, and ſuch other, alſo the high court of the chancerie."

Vide p. 40. vol. the 1ſt.

Holl. p. 303

In the code of laws made by the Conqueror, is one which runs thus,—" Et quod habeant per univerſum regnum menſuras fideliſſimas et ſignatas et pondera fideliſſima et ſignata, ſicut boni prædeceſſores ſtatuerunt."—*That in every part of the kingdom they ſhould have juſt and faithful meaſures and weights, and ſuch as were ſtamped according to the ordinances of their predeceſſors.*

Law the 57th.

Yet, notwithſtanding this ſhew of good order and love to the ſubjects, William ſoon diſcovered the wolf through the ſheeps cloathing; for he not only abrogated moſt of their antient laws and privileges, but introduced new ones, aggreviating the ſubjects to a great degree: and all this he crowned with the moſt finiſhed ſtroke of deſpotiſm and tyranny, that a cruel and mercileſs heart could invent; for the greater part of thoſe very laws which he now new made, were put forth in the *Franco Norman* language†, and by this means became entirely unintelligible to his Engliſh ſubject; the dreadful conſequence was, that many were put to death, or grievouſly oppreſſed and fined, for the breach of laws that they really knew not were in being, or underſtood not the meaning or purport of. Some have called this a maſter ſtroke of ſound policy, becauſe ſay they, by this means he made it abſolutely neceſſary for the Engliſh to learn the Norman tongue and uſages; ſo that by conſtant uſe, they might become familiar and pleaſant to them; but

See all the antient chronicles. Vide Polydore Virgil, page 154.

* We are by no means to underſtand that this was the firſt inſtitution of law terms, for the learned Spelman has evidently proved their great antiquity; " ſome have affirmed (ſays he) that William the Conqueror did firſt inſtitute them. It is not worth the examining who was the author of this error, but it ſeemeth that Polydore Virgil (an alien in our common-wealth, and not well endenized in our antiquities) ſpread it firſt in print." He then proceeds to inform us that they are ſtill much more antient than our Saxon government, and were uſed among the Greeks and Romans; and he thus defines them, " the terms are certain portions of the year, in which only the king's juſtices hold plea in the high temporal courts of cauſes belonging to their juriſdiction, in the place thereto aſſigned, according to the antient rites and cuſtoms of the kingdom."—See a Diſcourſe on the Law Terms, written by Sir Henry Spelman, knight, page 1 and 2.

† The code of laws made by the conqueror, conſiſted of ſeventy-one articles, the firſt fifty of which containing the principal matters, were in the Franco-Norman tongue.—See all the laws in Lumbart's collection.

but ſuch perſons have not well conſidered the ſcarcity of books at this period, and the impoſſibility of the poorer people (eſpecially) being able to attain learning ſufficient for the interpretation of the Norman language. What a miſchievous train of troubles muſt then be brought on, where the great and ſubſtantial law of a kingdom is not to be underſtood by one third of the inhabitants? And indeed, William Rufus, Henry the Firſt, Stephen, and the reſt of the ſucceeding kings, became thoroughly ſenſible of theſe cruel impoſitions; therefote, by degrees, as they wanted to advance themſelves in favour with the people, they aboliſhed thoſe grievous laws, and reſtored thoſe which were made by the Confeſſor; and the which beſt ſuited with the conſtitution and genius of the people.

Hollingſhead, chronicle, 304.

Henry the ſecond (ſay the chronicles) in a parliament at Northampton, A. D. 1176, cauſed England to be divided into ſix circuits, and to each circuit he appointed three juſticiars itinerants; cauſing them (ſays Daniel in his collection of the Hiſtory of the England) to take an oath * upon the holy evangeliſts, faithfully for themſelves to obſerve, and cauſe inviolably to be obſerved of all his ſubjects of England, the aſſizes made at Claringdon, and renewed at Northampton, which aſſizes were chiefly for murther, theft, robbery, and their receivers; for deceipts, and burning of houſes, which facts, if found by the verdict of twelve men, the accuſed were to paſſe the tryall of water ordeal†, whereby, if not acquitted, their puniſhment was loſſe of a leg, or baniſhment.

See Speed, 505. Daniel's Collection, page 88.

King Henry the Third ſat himſelf with his juſticiars in perſon at Weſtminſter, where he accuſed Peter de Rivallis of treaſon, and there ſentenced him to be impriſoned in the tower, till he (the king) ſhould be ſatisfied concerning his innocency; and the ſame prince, when the county of Hampſhire was infeſted with thieves, ſitting in perſon at Wincheſter caſtle, ſo put the laws in force that by hanging ſome of the ringleaders, and moſt daring of them, he ſoon reſtored the county to quietneſs and good order.

Roger de Wendover, Mat. Paris, page 341. Ibid 158.

In the Norman laws, the puniſhment by loſs of members was yet continued, for in the earlier ages, they with great reaſon ſuppoſed, that a malefactor miſerably living, was a more ſtriking example of juſtice, than one put to death at once; but when the offending party was rich, he was obliged to pay a fine or ranſom for the limb condemned, which fine was exacted in proportion to the crime committed, or quality of the perſon wronged, and ſo his limb was ſaved.

Daniel, 88.

Some few were put to death chiefly by hanging,‡ which death was (according to Hollingſhead) firſt by Henry the Second appointed to murtherers.

Holl. 474.

Other

* There were two methods antiently of taking oaths, one ſet apart for the clergy, the other for the laymen; for (ſays Daniel, "the king (Henry III.) taking the croſs upon him, took oath to the performing of the ſame: In taking this oath, he firſt layed his hand upon his breaſt (according to the manner of a prieſt) and after on the book, and kiſt it (as a layman)."—Daniel's collection of the Hiſtory of England, page 141.

† By this circumſtance we find, that the ordeals of our anceſtors were yet continued; and Stow, alſo in the life of William the Conqueror, informs us, that Remigius, a Monk, was accuſed of treaſon to the king, but (ſays he) a certeyne ſervant of his, by judgement of the *fiery ſword*, purged hym, and returned hym to the kinges favour.—Stow's Chronicle, page 121.

‡ Daniel gives us a diſmal inſtance of cruelty practiſed in the reign of king John (during the time of his excommunication) on the body of one Geffery, arch-deacon of Norwich (a man ſerving in the king's exchequer) who affirming that it was not lawful for a beneficed man to remain in obedience to an excommunicated king; wherefore he without leave returned home, but was ſoon ſeized upon, and by the king's order laid in a ſtraight priſon, and after that was put up into a ſheet of lead, in which he miſerably periſhed.—Daniel's Hiſt. 115.

Other malefactors were ſet upon the pillory, the form of which no ways differed from ours. See plate 1, fig. 12, of this vol. Bakers for "lack of ſize," ſays Fabian, were by Hugh Bigot, in the 42d year of Henry the Third, puniſhed by the tomberell, whereas before that time, they uſed to be puniſhed by the pillory. Fabian's Chron. vol. 2, page 32.

The tomberell, ſays my author, was "a kind of pillorye, made foure ſquare, that turned roun about." Others were ſet in the ſtocks and whipped; with various puniſhme s of leſs note, in proportion to the crimes committed. Fabian, Hollingſhead, Grafton, Stowe.

The ancient place of execution, as in the time of Henry the Firſt, &c. was at Smithfield; which then was, as old chronicles report, "a layſtow of all dong and filth," &c.

In the laws of William the Conqueror, is one importing, that "Si femme eſt jugee a mort u a de facum des membres ki ſeit enceintee, ne faced lum juſtice deſquele ſeit deliveze." *If a woman be adjudged to death, or the loſs of limbs, and ſhe be found to be great with child, ſhe ſhall not ſuffer juſtice till ſhe be delivered.* And for the eſtabliſhing free and ſafe paſſage in the highway, another law enacted, that "De III chemins co eſt a ſaveir, Wellingſtreet & Emingſtreet, & Foſ, ki en alcun de ces chemins ocrit home qui ſeit errant per le pais u aſalt, ſi enfreit la pais le Roi."—*If any man ſhould either kill or aſſault another, journeying through either of the three roads, that is to ſay, Watling-ſtreet, Erming-ſtreet, or the Foſſe, he ſhould be accounted guilty of the breach of the king's peace.* The puniſhment for which offence was a heavy and grievous fine, and on failure of payment thereof the culprit forfeited his limbs, or his life, according to the greatneſs of the perſon ſlain or aſſaulted. Leg. Guil. primi, cap. 35. Leg. Guil. pri. cap. 30.

Shipping and Naval Affairs of the Normans.

It has already been ſet forth, that ſuch of the Northern nations as lay near the ſea ſhore, (in former times) made their names famous for their naval conduct; and we ſhall find, that the *Anglo-Normans* ſtill adhered to that uſeful maxim of their anceſtors, namely, attending with great care to their ſea affairs and ſhipping; conſtantly keeping up a ſtrong fleet of well-built ſhips, with all their neceſſary appendages, as large and ſmall galleys, and boats of all ſizes. Verſtegan, Speed, and others.

The fleet of the Conqueror, when he firſt came over into England, conſiſted of 896 ſhips, though the author of the *Roman de Rou*, cited by Mr. Lancelot, confines the number to 696, but either of theſe was a vaſt fleet for that time; yet we muſt obſerve, that theſe were not ſtrong, well-built ſhips; but rather ſlight veſſels, knocked up quickly, for the tranſportation of his army only; and this muſt have been the caſe, for William had only from the firſt of January, till the latter end of Auguſt, for his artificers to compleat the whole of his navy. Dr. Ducarrel's Ang. Norman Antiq. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ.

The Norman writers have given us ſeveral very pompous deſcriptions of the ſhipping of their Æra. Mat. Paris informs us, that Richard the Firſt, when on his expedition to the Holy Land, had in his train thirteen *buccas*, which were ſhips with triple ſails, beſides one hundred ſhips of burden, and fifty galleys, each having a triple bank of oars.* And Hoveden deſcribing the arrival of the ſame prince Mat. Paris Hiſt. Major, page 156.

* Habuit in comitatu ſuo tredecim buccas, triplici velorum expanſione velificatas; habuit præterea centum naves onerarias et quinquaginta galeias triremes.——Mat. Par. Hiſt. Major, page 136.

Rog. Hove. Pars Poſterior, 383.

prince in Sicily, declares that he came "with many *buccas* and other large veſſels and galleys, in ſuch pomp and ſplendour, that the reſounding trumpets and loud horns ſtruck fear and dread into the ſouls of the citizens. And Matthew of Weſtminſter, in the Hiſtory of Henry the Third, makes this exclamation, "Oh, England! whoſe antient glory is renowned among all nations, like the pride of the Chaldeans; the ſhips of Tarſis could not compare with thy ſhips; they bring from all the quarters of the world the aromatic ſpices, and the moſt precious things of the univerſe: the ſea is thy wall, and thy ports are as the gates of a ſtrong and well-furniſhed caſtle," &c.

Flores Hiſtoriarum, page 340.

But to proceed to a deſcription of the ſhips and other craft of this Æra.

The *buccas*, or *burciis*, appear to be veſſels of the largeſt ſize. And in the greateſt fleets deſcribed by the Norman writers, we meet not with more than 20 or 30 at moſt, which always take the lead: the *buccas* had three ſails, whereas all the other veſſels had but one.

The ſhips diſtinguiſhed by the name of "*naves onerarias*," ſhips of burthen. "*Carikes* or *hulkes*," (according to Hollingſhead's tranſlation) were alſo large veſſels.

The *galleys* were of two ſorts, ſome ſailed and rowed, † and ſome rowed only. Hoveden (ſpeaking of king Richard landing in Cyprus) informs us, that "he went out from the great ſhips into the boats and galleys, which were rowed to ſhore with great violence."‡ The firſt of theſe were often called *galiones*, § and were larger than the latter, which were ſometimes big enough, ſays Mat. Paris, to carry 60 men well armed in iron armour, beſides 104 men who rowed, and the ſailors: and ſome of them had triple banks of oars one over the other, after the antient faſhion.

The *barca* ‖ were a ſort of boats, perhaps flat bottom'd: they ſeem chiefly to have been uſed in fleet waters, to convey the troops to ſhore.

They had beſides *naviculas*, or ſmall boats, with ſuch like craft.

In all the reſearches that I have made, I have not been able either from the deſcription of the hiſtorians, or in any delineation whatever, to diſcover the true form of the *buccas*, or wherein it differed from the other large ſhips, ſaving that it had three ſails, but whether thoſe ſails were all on one, or divided on ſeparate maſts, I cannot poſſibly determine.

The common ſailing ſhip is exhibited, plate 32, fig. 2, in the firſt vol. which bears the royal arms on the ſail; alſo on plate 64, vol. 1, is a ſhip with the king on board. Both theſe ſhips are made to repreſent ſhips of the firſt rank, and ſuch as voyages were made in at that period; and doubtleſs were decked over, though

† And an old author, who wrote the hiſtory of king Richard the Firſt in Engliſh rhime, ſays of the king, that

Were the marynerys glad or wrothe,
He made them ſeyle and rowe bothe,
That the galley gede ſo ſwyfte,
So doth the fowle by the lyfte.

MS. apud Bib. Harlianiæ inſig. 4690.

‡ Exierunt e magnis navibus in naviculas, et galeas, et remigando venerunt ad terram, &c. Hoveden, 393, B.

§ Galeias noſtras & *galiones*, Mat. Paris, page 263. *Galiones*, i. e. grandiores galeiæ, ab Italico galeone, a *gallion* ex Gloſſ. in Mat. Paris.

‖ Multas naves cum quadam barca, Mat. Par. 264.

though the deſigner has made the figures ſo much too large, that they deſtroy all appearance of it; yet this diſproportion of the figures can be no objection to this ſuppoſition, becauſe in all the delineations of this Æra, the rules of proportion appear either not to be known, or elſe they were moſt grievouſly neglected.

We may obſerve in theſe delineations, that there ſeems to be little or no diſtinction between the head and the ſtern of the ſhips; and but for the rudder, which appears faſtened with a ring to the hinder ſide of the veſſel, I ſhould have been led to conclude, that they ſailed indiſcriminately either way, as might beſt ſuit their occaſions. The ſhrouds are not like thoſe of the ſhips at preſent, faſtened to the ſides, but coming from the top of the maſt, they are made faſt at the head and ſtern of the veſſel: the anchor they carried in the ſtern, lying over the ſide of the ſhip.

The galleys were chiefly uſed in war, and many great exploits were performed in them. Plate 31, fig. 9, vol. 1, is a repreſentation of an engagement between two galleys, one of which, by the means of a cramp iron, (like an anchor) have drawn their antagoniſts in the other galley, cloſe ſide to ſide, and are boarding them with horrible deſtruction; in the mean time we ſee the ſlingers and archers are buſily employed in the diſtribution of their miſſive weapons; among the reſt the archers ſhot from their bows arrows headed with phials, filled with quick lime; and other arrows armed with combuſtible matter ſet on fire, which they ſhot into the rigging of the larger veſſels. See page 98 and 99, vol. 1. Mat. Paris.

Fig. 3, plate 32, vol. 1, exhibits a galley armed with an iron prow; * which iron, for the greater ſtrength and ſupport of the ſides of the veſſel, is bound as it were all round, coming to a ſharp point at the head. With this iron they damaged and broke in the ſides of the veſſels of their enemies, by rowing againſt them with all their force.

The Anglo-Normans were very expert in the management of their ſhipping, and fought with great courage and magnanimity. Their chief aim was to grapple with the galleys of their enemies, and come to a cloſe engagement, hand to hand, and board them if poſſible; though they always began the fight at a diſtance, with their arrows from their croſs bows, aſſiſted by the archers and ſlingers, upon a nearer approach, the cloſe heavy-armed ſoldiers (men of arms) with their ſpears, axes, ſwords, and other offenſive weapons, ſupported the engagement. They provided themſelves with quick lime, finely powdered, and at all times carefully ſtrove to be to windward of their adverſaries, and then threw plentifully of this lime into their faces. Thus Matthew Paris, deſcribing an engagement between the Engliſh and the French, in the time of Henry the Third, tells us, that the Engliſh had "Calcem quoque vivam et in pulverem ſubtilem redactam, in altum projicientes, vento illam ferente, Francorum oculos excæcaverunt." *Quick lime alſo, which they threw up into the air, and the wind driving it full in the faces of the French, blinded their eyes.* Mat. Par. 50.

They had trumpets, horns, and other martial muſic on board their ſhips, which, for the encouragement of their men, they ſounded with great noiſe and vehemence. "The galleys, (ſays Matthew Paris, ſpeaking of the emperor's fleet)

* Matthew Paris (ſpeaking of the Engliſh) informs us, that at an engagement, A. D. 1217, "Habuerunt præterea galleias ferro roſtratas; quibus naves adverſariorum perforantes, multos in momento ſubmerſerentur" page 251.

Mat. Par. pag. 500.

fleet) together with the ſhips diſpoſed in order, ploughed the Tyrrhenum Ocean, amidſt the noiſe and tumult of the ſailors, and the loud clangore of the hoſtile trumpet." And the words of Hoveden, quoted at the beginning, are "*Sonitu* tubarum *et* buccinum." *The ſound of the trumpets and horns.*

Hoveden, 383.

Hollingſhead informs us, that there was a law eſtabliſhed among the ſailors (in the time of Richard the Firſt) who were going to the holy war, that if any of them played at dice, or any other game, without licence, they ſhould be plunged into the ſea three mornings following, by way of puniſhment.

Temp. Hen. 3.

The commerce of the Anglo-Normans was very extenſive, as may be judged from the words of Matthew of Weſtminſter, who, after having declared that the ſhips of Tarſus were not to be compared to thoſe of England, tells us, that "they brought from all the quarters of the world, the pretious commodities of the univerſe. The Piſans, Genoeſes, and the Venetians, * (continues he) ſupplyed England with the eaſtern gems, as ſaphires, emeralds, and carbuncles; from Aſia was brought the rich ſilks and purples; from Africa the cinnamon and balm; from Spain the kingdom was enriched with gold; with ſilver from Germany; from Flanders (called the Weaver of the Realm †) came the rich materials for the garments of the people; while plentiful ſtreams of wine flowed from their own province of Gaſcoigny; joined with every thing that was rich and pretious from every land, wide ſtretching from the *Hyades*, to the *Arcturian Star*.

Flores Hiſtoriarum, pag. 341.

And William Fitz Stephen (who wrote the Deſcription of London) ſays of it: "To this city merchants bring their wares from every nation under heaven. The *Arabian* ſends in his gold; the *Sabean* his francincenſe, and other aromatic drugs; the *Scythian* his proviſions, gathered from the fruitful date trees; *Babilon* beſtows the fruits of a fertile ſoil; the river *Nile* affords pretious ſtones; the *Seres* ſend purple garments; and they of *Norway* and *Ruſſia*, various furs both grey and ſable; and the *French* their wine." This author lived in the reigns of Henry the Second, and Richard the Firſt.

See Stowe's Survey of London, page 704.

Huſbandry, &c. of the ANGLO-NORMANS.

The art of huſbandry (with its appendage ſciences) was, we may be certain, continually improving throughout the Norman Æra, notwithſtanding hiſtorians (too negligent in theſe particulars) have not circumſtantially noted it; for without doubt, while the other arts were ripening to maturity, one ſo truly uſeful ſhould hardly have been neglected.

The Norman plough was made without wheels, though it had but one handle, (ſee plate 32, fig. 7, in the firſt vol.) which they held in one hand, while in the other they bore a plough ſtaff to break the clods; and this method of ploughing was in uſe till the 17th century, as may be ſeen by a little book, entitled, *Orbis Senſualium Pictus*. "The ploughman yoketh oxen to the plough, and he holdeth the plough ſtilt in his left hand, and in his right the plough ſtaff to break the clods." This is alſo ſhewn in the figure at the bottom of plate 26, vol. 1, which repreſents a man ploughing, with an axe, that anſwers the purpoſe of the plough

Orbis Senſual. Pictus, p. 58.

* Piſani, Januenſes & Veneti.—Mat. Weſt. lib. 2, pag. 341.

† Tua textrix, Flandria texuit, &c. Ibid.

plough ſtaff. Fig. 5, plate 32, vol. 1, repreſents a man ſowing of corn, which he is reaping, fig. 6 of the ſame plate. Figure 10 exhibits the mower whetting of his ſcythe; and in plate 33, fig. 3, is a man threſhing the corn.

I have never been able to trace out the harrow in any M. S. delineation whatever, either Saxon or Norman, which defect I have been able to ſupply from the famous tapeſtry of Bayeux, where on the border, among the various ornaments wherewith it is compoſed, is a man ploughing, following another with a harrow, drawn by a ſingle ox; which proves, that at leaſt they were uſed by the Normans in very early times, if not by the Saxons before them, which circumſtance is highly probable. See Montfaucon's Monarchie Francois. And Dr. Ducarrel's Anglo-Norman Antiq.

Among the other grains, as wheat, barley, rye, oats, &c. they carefully cultivated hemp. The hands and hammer, plate 33, fig. 10, repreſent the method of beating hemp; they alſo grew beans and peas, &c. M. S, apud Bib. Cott. inſig. Nero, D. 1.

The corn thus ſown, reaped and threſhed, this plain queſtion may naturally be aſked, How was it reduced to flour? In early ages perhaps the grain was put between two ponderous ſtones, and ground to powder by moving them to and fro; or by beating the grain in large mortars. Then came in the hand-mill, turned and tended by the female domeſtic, as ſhould appear from one of the laws of Ethelbert, the Saxon king of Kent, where n it is enacted, that any man who ſhould debauch the king's grinding-maid, ſhould be obnoxious to a very ſevere and heavy fine. At this early period of the Saxon government, ſays Dr. Henry, water-mills were not known in England, though long before uſed in Spain. However, we may be certain, that they were ſoon after brought into uſe here in England alſo. In a charter of Ulfere, for the foundation of the monaſtery of Medeſhamſted, An. Dom. 664, this mention is made: "Et totam illam partem ville de Staunford qui eſt verſus Medeſhamſtede citra pontem cum terris et Molendinis eidem parti adjacentibus," which, from the ſituation "*near the bridge*," we may conclude was a water-mill. And in another charter of ſome lands given by king Edmund to Elfrico, a certain biſhop of his, dated An. Dom. 944, it runs thus: "On ðone ealdan Mylen þæt þapelgar ſtandaþ," *and all the mills that ſtand thereupon*. The date of the wind-mill is uncertain, or whether ſome of theſe mills thus mentioned in ancient charters, were not wind-mills, is very doubtful; however, the learned Somner has proved in his Antiquities of Canterbury, that they were uſed by the Anglo-Normans. "There was (ſays he) ſometime a wind-mill ſtanding neare the nonnery without Ridingate, which the hoſpitall held by the grant of the nonnes there: the conditions mutually agreed upon at the time of the grant were, that the nonnes bearing the fourth part of the charge of the mill, ſhould reap the fourth part of the profit of it, and have their own corn ground there for them when they would, *gratis*, or of free coſt; and the hoſpitall to find a way to it, *a cheminio magno regali*, that is, from the rode or highway by it; and this about the reign of king John." This is the firſt account that I have met with, where the wind-mill was particularly diſtinguiſhed; though without doubt they were of a much more antient date. Immediately to the hand-mill, ſays the little book (Orbis Senſualis Pictus) above quoted, ſucceeded the horſe-mill, to that the water-mill, then the ſhip-mill; and laſt of all the wind-mill. As to the ſhip-mill, I muſt own that I have not the leaſt idea either of its form or conſtruction. All the reſt are eaſily underſtood. Leges Ethelberti. Dr. Henry Hiſt. Brit. vol. 1. In Collec. Chart. apud Bib. Cott. inſig. Auguſtus 2. Ibidem MS. Somner Ant. Cant. page 119. Orbis Sen. Pictus, p.

All

All the mills (wind-mills eſpecially) which appear in the antient M. S. delineations, are repreſented at a diſtance, or ſo very ſmall, that the particular form and appurtenances are not to be diſcovered: the wind-mill which appears at a diſtance, plate 17 of this volume, is as perfect as any I have ſeen, agreeing entirely with every other delineation: there is indeed in the Hartman's Chronicle, printed Ann. Dom. 1493, a repreſentation of a wind-mill, with ſix ſails; but this is not uncommon abroad.

Printed at Nuremberg.

The water-mills are delineated like ſquare weather boarded houſes, and the water wheel is diſcovered at one end; ſometimes with, and ſometimes without a pent houſe, or covering over the top of it. We are by no means able to make any farther diſcoveries of the works within; but ſo very ſimple is the conſtruction of the wheels and motion of the preſent mills, that there is very little room left to doubt their being antiently erected nearly upon the ſelf ſame plan.

The corn being ground to meal, the bran was ſevered from it by means of a ſieve (the bolting mill not being then known) and the flour made into dough, was ſent to the bakers; the poorer people made the dough into cakes, and baked them on the hearth. There were ſeveral laws and reſtrictions made by the Anglo Norman kings, fixing the aſſize of bread, and the price for the bakers; and their puniſhment for ſelling bread ſhort of weight, was, for the firſt offence, the loſs of their bread; for the ſecond, impriſonment; and for the next, either the pillory or the tumberell. See page 9 of this volume.

Various Chronicles.

Wool the great ſtaple commodity of the kingdom, was not only uſed for home conſumption, but great quantities were exported to the neighbouring nations. Thus Matthew of Weſtminſter ſays of England, "Et licet maris anguſtata littoribus, brevi terræ ſpacio diſtendaris, tibi tamen ubertatis tam famoſæ per orbem benedixerunt omnium latera nationum, de tuis ovium veleribus calefacta." *Which imports, that though the kingdom is not large, or far outſtretched, yet was it famous throughout the globe; and the bordering nations cloathed with the fleeces from the backs of the ſheep, did bleſs the iſland.* And ſays Camden (quoting a very antient author) "In thy fields, oh Britaine, are infinite numbers of milch cattle, and ſheep weighed downe with rich fleeces." Many very great ſums of money were raiſed at different times by the kings of England, by ſubſidies and taxes levied on the wools, and the revenue of the nation greatly enriched by this commodity, as may appear almoſt from every chronicle.

Flores Hiſt. 341.

Camden's Remains, page 3.

Dreſs and Habit of the Anglo Normans.

Perhaps there is nothing that has with more juſtice lain under the laſh of the ſevereſt ſtrokes of ſatirical cenſure, than the various and ridiculous modes of habit adopted by the Engliſh people:—dreſs, inſtead of being confined to uſeful and decent faſhions, has too often been carried to ſuch extreams, as to excite the laughter and pity of every ſenſible man.

Already, we have found our hiſtorians bitterly inveighing againſt the abſurdity of habits worn in their own days, and chronicling from record the follies of the foregoing ages. In the Confeſſor's reign (who was educated in Normandy) the nobles (in compliance perhaps with the taſte of their prince) began to adopt the faſhions of the Franco-Norman court, and the immoderate ſhortneſs of their garment

garment was ſhocking and offenſive to decency. The faithful Malmſbury, ſpeaking of the prepoſterous length to which the men in the days of Rufus ſuffered their hair to grow, tells us, that they had much more the appearance of women than of men; and as for the women (continues he) ſo thoroughly were they diſguiſed, that they ſcarcely bore the reſemblance of human creatures at all: thoſe of either ſex whoſe own hair was not long enough, avidly ſupplied their natural wants with an artificial plenty. He then relates the following ſtory (as a thing that happened in his own time) "A young ſoldier, whoſe chief pride lay in the beauty of his locks, which trayled down almoſt unto his knees; dreamt one night that a perſon came to him, and having got him down, ſtrangled him with his own hair inſtead of a cord; and ſuch an effect had this dreadful dream on the mind of our ſuperſtitious gallant, that he forthwith took a pair of ſhears, and in a few minutes demoliſhed all his pride and glory!" Hiſt. Novel. page 99.

Henry the Firſt, in order to aboliſh as much as poſſible ſo unmanlike a cuſtom, ordered, "that ſuch as did weare their hair long, ſhould have it neverthelesſe ſo rounded, that parts of theyr eares mighte appeare." And he further ordained, that all his ſoldiers ſhould have their hair trimmed round to a decent length. Hollingſhead Chron. p. 341.

The clergy alſo had their ſhare in theſe enormities, for ſays Fabian in the life of William Rufus, "At this time preiſtes uſed buſhed and breyded hedes, long tayled gownes and blaſyng clothes, ſhinyng and golden girdelles, and road with guilt ſpurres, with uſyng of dyverſe other enormities.' All which vices Anſelme would have corrected, but he lacked the aſſiſtance of his brethren the biſhops: but Henry the Firſt enacted a law in the firſt year of his reign, importing, that the "Prieſtes ſhoulde not haunte ale houſes, and further, that they ſhoulde weare apparell of one manner of colour, and ſhoes after a comelye faſhion; for a little before that tyme, prieſtes uſed to goe verye unſeemely. Fabian's Chron. vol. 2. c. 234, page 9. Hollinſhead, p. 340.

If we may believe the old poetical hiſtorian, Robert of Gloceſter, we ſhall find that Rufus himſelf had his ſhare of pride in his habit.

As hys chamberleyn hym brogte, as he ros a day,
A mawe voyto wezye, a peyze hoſe of say,
He eſte what thei coſtenede, thze ſhyllyng the other ſeyde
Fy a deules quath the kyng wo ſey ſo vil dede,
Kyng to wezye eny cloth, bote yt coſtenede moze
Bu a peyze of a maze, other thou ſhalt be acoyze ſoze;
A woyſe peyze of ynou the other fuththe hym brogte,
And ſeyde thei weze vor a maze, & unnethe ſo y bogte,
Se bel amy quath the king ther weze wel y bogte,
In this maneze ſezve me, other thou ne ſhalt me ſezve nogt.

Robert of Gloceſter's Chron. publiſhed by Hearne, page 390.

But Henry the Firſt as is above obſerved, entirely diſcouraging this fooliſh pride and oſtentation, both at his court, and wherever his authority might extend; by degrees in his, and the ſucceeding reigns, it dwindled away, and in room thereof was adopted a plain and elegant ſimplicity. Their hair ceaſing to be ridiculous flowed with all the beauty of unadorned nature; their habits were uſeful and decent; and the ornaments of either ſex ſo few, and ſo well choſen, that they added to the graceful and elegant appearance of the wearers.

The

The habits of the kings and noblemen partook alſo of the ſimplicity; their common dreſs conſiſted of a cloſe long gown, or circoat, which reached down to their heels, the which habit was often ornamented with a border or collar of gold, or embroidery, ſet with precious ſtones; ſee the figure of the king, plate 36, No. 1 of the firſt vol. and plate 39, No. 2 of the ſame. Over this gown or circoat they wore a long robe or cloak, which alſo reached down to their heels; this robe in all the delineations (as well of the kings as of the nobles) appears to be only looſely thrown over the ſhoulders; ſometimes (though indeed but ſeldom) it is ſeen faſtened on the middle of the breaſt, by a round buckle, not unlike thoſe of the Saxons; ſee in plate 45 No. 2, in vol. 1, the figure of the hermit who ſtands beſide the king. And though it does not appear, yet doubtleſs the cloaks of all the figures repreſented in the Norman Æra, were in ſome manner faſtened to the cloſe habit, either by hooks and eyes, or ſome contrivance of the like nature.

Whenever the king or his nobles are repreſented riding or walking abroad, they have a hood conſtantly ſeen hanging behind their cloaks; as is exhibited in plates 41 and 45, No. 1 in the 1ſt vol.

The figures riding, repreſented in plate 58, No. 1 of the 1ſt vol. have cloaks differing from any of thoſe above deſcribed, they ſeem to be put over the head, and ſo hung down before and behind, being divided on each ſide to make room for the arms, like the tabard or herald's coat; the caps are alſo very different from any of the others that are ſeen in the courſe of the delineations here copied; this I take to be the common riding dreſs of this Æra.

The cloſe habit, or circoat, was put on over the head like a ſhirt, and then they girded it round their loins with a girdle, ſee plate 37 No. 1, of the 1ſt vol. thus the old poet, Robert of Glouceſter, deſcribes the coming of Stephen Segreave, and others, to make ſubmiſſion to king Henry the third.

Robt. Gloc. in vita Hen. 3.

——— Unhoſed, barefooted, and ungirt alſo
Their arms to the elbows naked, and their heads baze thereto.

Theſe girdles were often made of gold and embroidery, and ſet with pretious ſtones.

In antient times none but kings and queens were permitted to wear purple, of this our own poet Lidgate makes mention, in his life of the Bleſſed Virgin,

M. S. Lydgate Bib. Hart.

So that no wight of the ſtooke royall
By ſtatute olde tym ye ſhould no man ſeen at all
In purpil clad, but othyr kynge or qwene
In hold tym paſt thus it hath been ſeen.

The ſoldiers were clad in a cloſe Tunic, which reached only to the knees, ſee ſome of the figures, plate 36 of the firſt vol.

The queen and other great ladies were cloathed in modeſt elegant habits, conſiſting of a looſe gown girded round the waiſt, which reached to the ground, and a vail over their heads: the chief diſtinction between the married, and unmarried ladies appears to be an additional robe over the gown, which hangs down before, not unlike the ſacerdotal robe of a prieſt. Robert de Brune (in his

his illuſtration of Peter Langtoffs Chronicle) deſcribing the flight of Maud the empreſs from Oxford, in the reign of Stephen, ſays ſhe got forth

Without kirtelle oꝛe Hemſe, ſabe Koverchef alle bare biꝺ.

Robert de Brume in vita Stephani.

That is without a kirtle or pettycoat, over her ſhift, and only the koverchef or vail over her head. The queen, plate 61 of the firſt vol. is diſtinguiſhed by the crown on the top of her head, beſides the vail bound over her chin, which entirely covers her neck; whereas the princeſſes, plate 60 of the ſame vol. have only a hoop, or plain circle of gold put round their temples, and under it the vail hangs flowing over each ſhoulder.

The coronation habits of the kings, tho' then eſteemed grand and magnificent, partake alſo of the elegance and ſimplicityof the age. The king, plate 40, vol. 1, is firſt habited in a cloſe habit, or circoat, which has a broad collar turned down, from which behind him hangs the rich coronation robe; ſee alſo plate 48, vol. 1.

The caps which are worn by the noblemen on each ſide of the king in the 42 plate, vol. 1, are ſuch as were worn by none but the grandees of the realm: the one worn by the figure at the king's right hand eſpecially, which is ornamented with jewels in the front; theſe caps are ſometimes turned up before as here repreſented, and ſometimes quite plain, as in plate 49, No. 1, volume the firſt; and plate 44, No. 1, of the ſame volume, is a figure at the king's right hand, who wears a cap turned up at the corners, differing from any that appears elſewhere.

The habits of the clergy did not differ much from thoſe of the Saxons. The monks are cloathed in large looſe gowns, with long ſleeves, having a cowl or hood hanging behind; and this gown reached to the ground: thus the old poetical chronicler, John Harding, in the life of Henry the third has this line:

In frieze cloathes, that wer full long tailed.

John Harding's Chronicle, fol. 154.

Their heads were ſhorn cloſe round, ſee plate 34, vol. 1, the portrait of John Wallingford, and that of Mat. Paris, plate 35, both monks of St. Albans; and the monk repreſented on the miſcellaneous plate 33, fig. 6, of the ſame volume: the aſſiſtant prieſts, plate 64, vol. 1, who are carrying the ſhrine of St. Alban, have an additional looſe ſurplice over their other habits.

The chief dreſs of the common people was a ſhort jacket, barely reaching to the top of the knees, girt round the loins. The man reaping fig. 6, plate 32, vol. 1, has a broad belt and buckle; ſome of them have ſtockings and ſhoes, and others are apparently without either. Their heads they covered with a kind of hood, as the men putting the ſtone on the tomb, plate 39, No. 1, vol. 1, alſo plate 63, No. 2, the man ſtriking with his ax; the bonnet, or hat, of the plate 32, fig. 10, vol. 1, differs much from any of the reſt, it is not much unlike the modern hat flapped all round.

The Normans conſtantly ſhaved their beards all over, and did not leave the upper lip unſhorn, as the Engliſh in the time of the Confeſſor were wont to do; therefore, ſay the old hiſtorians, when Harold ſent ſpies to watch the motions, and diſcover the number of the Normans, they returned, and declared that they had not ſeen any ſoldiers in the Conqueror's camp, but an army of prieſts; the

Malmſbury de geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. 3, fol. 57, and others.

priests always holding it indecent to wear their beards: and again, Mathew Paris tells us, that William, the seditious Londoner, in the reign of Richard the first, had the firname *cum barba*, from his obstinately wearing his beard, in despite of the custom of the Normans, which was to be close shaven.

Mat Paris in vita Ric. 1, pag. 52.

Robert, eldest son to the Conqueror, (says Camden) used short hose; and thereupon was by-named, Court-hose, and shewed first the use of them to the English; which opinion was followed by most of our chroniclers. Trevisa in his translation of the Polychronicon writes in one place Robert Schort-boot; (so also does Speed after him) and in another he has it Robert Short-hooses; but sure if hose may be strictly said to mean stockings, as the chroniclers seem to agree, we shall find that Robert could not be the first that shewed the use of them to the English; because long before the conquest of the Normans, they were worn by all the Saxons, as almost every one of their own delineations sufficiently testify: so that most likely not from his showing the use of the short hose to the English, but from his first introducing them among the Normans, he might obtain that name *. the same perhaps may be said of Henry the second. Trevisa in the Polychronicon says, the King being dede his body lay naked long time, till that a child coverid the nether partes of his body with a short cloke, than hit semed that his surname was fulfylled that he hadde of his childhode, Henry Short-cloke that hight short mantel beyond the see; for this was the fyrste that brought shorte clokes oute of Angeo into England. But if we look over the plates of the Saxon æra, we shall at once be certain that this could not be the first introduction of short cloaks, when we find them so universally worn by the Saxons: perhaps tho' he was not the first that brought them into England, he might be the first of the Norman line that wore them here; and by that means might truly be said to be the restorer of an antient custom, which might be grown out of use from the time of the Norman conquest.

Camden's remains, pag. 132.

Caxton's Polychron. chap. 12, fol. 343, Chap. 14, 348. Speed vit. Hen. pri.

Caxton Polychron. chap. 24, fol. 360, See also Holling. Chron. 471.

And here it is to be noted, that the *umbrella* is by no means a modern invention; see one as used in the time of king Stephen, plate 1, fig. 13, of this volume.

Banquets, &c. of the ANGLO NORMANS.

We may learn from the ancient historians, how great and magnificent the public feasts and banquets were in this Norman æra. The old poet Robert of Gloucester, speaks of the profuseness of the Conqueror in the following words:

——————— Adoun he was anon.
Thre sythe he ber croune a ger, to Mydewynter at Glouceshre
To Whytesontyde at Westmynstre, to Este at Wynchestre
Thulke sestes he woulde holde so noblyche
Wyth so gret pryute and wast and so rychelyche
That wonder yt was Wanene yt com. ac to sustreyny such noblye
He destrude that poueze volc, and nom of them hys preye
So that he was ryche hym sulf, and that lond poueze al out.

Robert Gloucester, published by Hearne, pag. 376.

The

* But I rather incline to the interpretation of Trevisa and Speed, for Malmsbury calls him *Robelinus Curta Ocrea*; which may mean perhaps a kind of buskins, or half-boots, as are represented worn by the figures plate 33, fig. 5, and of these he might be the inventor.

The ſubſtance of which is, that he was crowned three times a year; and at each time there was ſuch pompous feaſting and waſte, that he thereby greatly impoveriſhed the whole kingdom.

At the marriage of Richard earl of Cornwall (the brother of Henry the third) with Cincia, daughter of Raymund earl of Province, there were more than thirty thouſand diſhes † prepared for the marriage feaſt: Mat Paris, ſub. an 1243

And at the knighting, and marriage of young Alexander king of Scotland, (who married Margaret, daughter to Henry the third) there were no leſs than ſixty oxen ſlain, as one ſingle article, with every other thing in proportion that was ſcarce and rare. Ibid. ſub. ann. 124[illegible].

In the ſame year, that is in the 40th of Henry the third, John Manſel, the king's counſellor, gave a ſtately dinner to the kings of England and Scotland, and their queens: there was alſo preſent Edward the king's ſon, the biſhop of London, and many earls, barons, knights, and citizens; in ſhort, ſo large was his company that his houſe at Totehill could not contain them; therefore he ſet up tents, and pavillions for their reception; and ſeven hundred meſſes of meat was not ſufficient to ſerve them for the firſt courſe. Let what has been ſaid ſuffice, tho' many other inconteſtible proofs may be brought, of the vaſt and expenſive profuſion of their banquets, yet let us not, while here we cenſure the extravagance of this æra, forget to throw into the oppoſite ſcale, the many inſtances of benevolence, and true Engliſh hoſpitality: Stow's Survey of London, p. 525.

Our monarch, king Henry the ſecond, (in expiation for the murder of Thomas Becket) in the time of a ſore dearth, (an. 1171) maintained at his own coſt ten thouſand poor perſons, till the new corn could be gathered up, and diſtributed forth. Ib. pag. 74[illegible]

Walter de Suffield, biſhop of Norwich, at the time of a dearth, (about the year 1245) ſold all his plate to relieve the preſſing neceſſities of his diſtreſſed fellow creatures.

The like benevolent diſpoſition ſhone forth in Robert Winchelſey, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, beſides the fragments from his table, every Friday and Saturday gave great alms, and a loaf of bread ſufficient for the day, to any who would fetch it. The number of theſe mendicants (ſays Stow) generally amounted to four or five thouſand at leaſt; moreover every great feſtival he diſtributed forth, one hundred and fifty pence to as many poor people, one penny each perſon; and ſent daily meat and bread, with money and apparel to ſuch of the aged and diſeaſed, whoſe infirmities might render them incapable of coming to ſhare in his Chriſtian-like bounty. Theſe, with many other as ſingular inſtances of boaſted Engliſh hoſpitality, ſo deſervedly noted by our hiſtorians of the antient times, make us look back with pleaſure; while we wiſh the ſame benevolent ſpirit may ſtill continue; but alas! we ſigh for like examples of Chriſtianity and humanity, in the preſent age.

The boars head was eſteemed a noble and princely diſh: this we are told was brought to the king's table with the trumpeters ſounding their trumpets before it in proceſſion; for, ſays Hollingſhead, "upon the day of coronation (of young Henry) king Henry the ſecond his father, ſerved him at table as ſewer, bringing up the bores head with trumpettes afore it, accordyng to the ancient maner."

It

† In coquinali miniſterio plura quam triginta millia ferculorum prandentibus parabantur, &c. Mat. Paris, edit. Will. Wats, A. D. 1684, pag. 536.

It ſhould appear at this period, that the kings ſat at meat attended by their phyſicians; which ſeems to be confirmed by Robert of Gloceſter, for king Henry the firſt, deſirous to eat of a lamprey, which was brought to the table, was warned by his phyſicians to forbear, becauſe it was very unwholeſome for him; theſe are the words of the poet:

Robt. Gloc. in vita Hen. 1.

——————— Ye wylled of a lampreye to ete
But hys leches hym verbede, vor yt was a feble mete.

Leche was the name by which all profeſſors of ſurgery and phyſic were antiently diſtinguiſhed; and in ſome parts of the kingdom to this day, a *cow doctor* is called a *cow leche*.

Muſical Inſtruments, &c. of the ANGLO NORMANS.

It was cuſtomary with the Norman kings, (as well as with all other northern nations) to ſit at meat attended by their bards, who accompanied the notes of the harp with their voice; ſinging the great and heroic acts of their patron, or his predeceſſors: thus ſay the hiſtorians, we owe the finding the tomb and bones of Arthur (the Britiſh king), to the curioſity of Henry the ſecond; before whom a Welſh harper playing, in his ſong declared that the body of that royal Briton, lay entombed at Glaſtenbury, between two pillars; which place being opened by king Henry's order, it was found in manner as deſcribed in the firſt volume. On plate 1, fig. 16, of this volume, is exhibited a harp, the original of which is in a M. S. as antient as the time of king Stephen; one exactly of the ſame form appears in a M. S. of Mathew Paris, written in the reign of Henry the third. Plate 33, fig. 7, in the firſt vol. is the violin, with five ſtrings, from a M. S. written about the time of Henry the ſecond; and fig. 9, plate 1, of this volume, is one drawn by Mathew Paris, which has only four; the pegs of both are placed horizontally on the nut. In plate 33, at fig. 12, is an organ, from the pſalter of Eadwine at Cambridge: we ſee four men are repreſented as blowing the bellows, while two others are playing; there is a double ſet of pipes, four on the right hand, which are larger than the ſix on the left, the laſt may be the treble, the former the baſs; on the table part before the pipes is made eleven holes, all nearly of the ſame ſize; but their uſe I cannot determine; there appears to be alſo three barrels, or tubes, in front, the intention of which was very likely to contain the wind for the ſupply of the pipes; there does not ſeem to be any keys, but the fingers of the two figures that are playing, appear to be cloſe preſſed down upon the bottom of the pipes; and perhaps they might by preſſing theſe, open ſome ſmall aperture, through which the wind might be conveyed from the tubes in front to the pipes. But all this muſt be left to the judgment of the curious enquirer.

Page 89, vol. 1.

See deſcription of the plates. Nero D. 1. apud Bib. Cotton.

See the account of the M. S. S. page 105. vol. 1.

Fig. 15 of plate 1, in this vol. repreſents a lute, and fig. 14, a lyre, and fig. 17 a dulcimer; all as antient as the time of king Stephen.

The horn, the trumpet, and other martial muſic, ſeems to be much upon the ſame plan with thoſe uſed by our anceſtors the Saxons.

Sports

Sports and Paſtimes of the ANGLO-NORMANS.

The moſt ancient and noble ſports were hunting, hawking, and other forreſt amuſements. Such a paſſionate admirer of theſe paſtimes was the Conqueror, that he depopulated whole villages, and pulled down churches, for the full ſpace of thirty miles, (in the county of Hampſhire) to make a forreſt for the preſervation of the game: and in this forreſt was his ſon Rufus ſlain, as he was hunting with his nobles. Henry the Firſt alſo was ſo fond of all kinds of wild animals, that he made a park (the firſt park, ſays Stow, made in England) at Woodſtock, ſeven miles in circumference, and walled it with ſtone, where he placed, beſides great numbers of deer, many ſtrange beaſts ſent him from afar, as lyons, leopards, lynxes, &c. He had alſo there a porcupine, which was then eſteemed as wonderful as it was uncommon, being the firſt ſeen in England. For the making of this park, he deſtroyed (ſays Stow) ſeveral villages, churches and chapels. Henry Earl of Warwick, was the firſt that followed his example, making himſelf a park at Wadgenoke, near Warwick, for the preſervation of his deer and other animals for hunting. So alſo Henry the Second was famous for his exerciſe in "huntyng, hawkyng, and ſuch lyke paſtymes."

Malmſ. lib. 4. in Vita Will. 2d. page 71.—Stow's Chron. page 143.—Malmſ. de Geſt. Reg. Ang. lib. v. page 91.—Grafton, vol. 2. p. 49.

The game of cheſs was alſo in great eſteem. Daniel, in his Collection, tells us the following ſtory of prince Henry, the youngeſt ſon of the Conqueror, afterwards Henry the Firſt, who, with his brother Robert, went to the court of the French king, where they were well entertained; and upon an after dinner (ſays he) prince Henry wan ſo much at cheſſe of Louis, the king's eldeſt ſon, as hee growing into choller, called him the ſonne of a baſtard, and threw the cheſſe in his face. Henry takes up the cheſſe board, and ſtrake Louis with that force, as drew bloud, and had killed him, had not his brother Robert come in the meane time and interpoſed himſelfe; whereupon they ſuddenly took horſe, and gat away.—In an old poem of the Life and Acts of Richard the Firſt, is this verſe,

Daniel's Collection of the Hiſt. of Eng. p. 35.—MS. apud Bib. Harl. inſig. 4690.

And king Richard ſtode and pleye
Att the cheſſe yn his galey.

Theſe were the kingly ſports. Among the commoner people, the running at the quinten was a game the moſt eſteemed. The figure of the quinten, from Stow's Survey of London, is repreſented in plate 1, fig. 10, of this volume, the top of which turns round with the greateſt eaſe; one end thereof is flat and broad, and at the other hangs a large bag filled with ſand: the method of performing was thus; The youth being mounted on a good horſe, with a long ſtaff or blunt lance, ran ſingly, aiming the lance at the broad part of the quinten, and he that hit it not (ſays Stow) was of all men laughed to ſcorne; and he that hit it full, if hee rode not the faſter, had a ſound blow on his necke with a bag full of ſand that hung on the other end.

See Stow's Survey of London, p. 76 & 77.

In

In the year of our Lord 1283, (the 38th of Henry the Third) the young men of London ſet forth a game called *quinten*, (ſays Mathew Paris) and he who beſt performed, was to have a peacock for his prize.*

William Fitz Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, who was born at London, has left behind him an account of ſuch ſports and games as were in uſe in his time. He flouriſhed in the reigns of Stephen and Henry the Second, and died in the year of our Lord 1191.

Fitz Stephen's Account of London.

See Stow's Survey, page 706.

In the firſt place, ſpeaking of the theatrical amuſements, he tells us, "that the enterludes belonging to the theatre, were plays of holy ſubjects, repreſenting the miracles wrought by the Saints, with the acts and pious ſuffrings of the Bleſſed Martyrs." And theſe holy and religious matters, continued for a long time to be the only ſubjects for the drama. They alſo had plays, in which were repreſented the perſon and actions of our Bleſſed Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and the Twelve Apoſtles, &c.

Next he informs us, "that every ſunday afternoon in Lent, was ſpent in riding courſes upon trained horſes, and in counterfeit battles, made with lances and ſhields; thoſe of the younger ſort not having their pikes headed with iron. And to theſe ſports not only the citizens of London, but even young men of note and family, (who had not yet attained to the honour of knighthood) reſorted to try their ſkill, and exerciſe themſelves in arms; while others, in divided companies, ſtrove in races to outſtrip each other, often throwing down their fellows in their courſe. In the eaſter hollydays (adds he) they have feint ſea fights; or elſe a pole was ſet up in the middle of the river Thames, and a ſhield made faſt thereto; then a young man ſtanding in a boat, which being both rowed by oars, and driven by the tide, glides ſwiftly on, while he with his lance hits the target as the boat paſſes by, when if he breaks his lance without looſeing his own footing, he performeth well; but if on the contrary the lance remains unbroken, he will be tumbled backwards into the water, and the boat paſſeth on; nevertheleſs there are always two boats ready to ſuccour him as ſoon as they can conveniently. During the hollydays, the youth were exerciſed in leaping, ſhooting with bows, wreſtling, and caſting of ſtones and javelins; at other times with bucklers, like fighting men. During the winter ſeaſon, almoſt every hollyday, there was ſome bore-fight, (the head of which animal was much eſteemed) or elſe bull-baiting. The ladies were mean while amuſed with dancing, and other feminine paſtimes. When the waters were frozen over, the youth exerciſed themſelves with ſliding, or driving each other forward on great pieces of ice; but thoſe more expert, bound to their ſhoes the leg bones of animals, and with ſtakes which they held in their hands, (headed with ſharp iron) they puſhed themſelves along with ſuch ſpeed, that they ſeemed to fly like a bird in the air, or as darts ſhot out from the engines of war." (Hence it is evident, that the invention of ſkates was not then known or well underſtood in England, ſince they were put to ſuch ſhifts to ſupply the want of them.) "Sometimes (continues my author) two men will place themſelves at a diſtance, then puſhing themſelves on with great force, will run againſt each other with their ſtaves, as it were tilting, by which means much hurt often enſued; while the graver citizens amuſe themſelves with birds, as ſpar-hawkes,

* Et eodem tempore juvenes Londinenſes ſtatuto *Pavone* pro Bravio, ad ſtadium quod *Quintena* vulgariter dicitur, vires proprias & equorum curſus ſunt experti." Mat. Par. Sub. An. 1253.—Edd. Guliel. Watts, An. Dom. 1684, page 744.

ſpar-hawkes, gooſe-hawkes, and the like, others delight in dogs, to hunt in the woody grounds.

Among the ſchool boys (ſays my author) at Shroftide, were amuſement ſet forth of cock fighting; and in the afternoons, playing with balls, &c.

Marriages, &c. of the ANGLO-NORMANS.

Among the various alterations made by the Normans, there is none ſeems to have ſuffered leſs change than the religious ceremonies in general, but more particularly ſuch as appertained to the ſacraments of marriage, of baptiſm, or the ſepulchral rights; and indeed, from what may be gathered from the various church laws, we ſhall find, that even to the preſent time, the chief ground work of thoſe very ceremonies yet remains entire: a couple deſirous to be married, were to be three times aſked in the church (as is cuſtomary to this day) unleſs they obtained a diſpenſation from the biſhop of the dioceſe. Plate 49, No 1 in the 1ſt vol. repreſents the eſpouſals; where the lady is brought to the king, and her hand is by the prieſt placed between both of his: after this, as in plate 42, alſo of the 1ſt vol, the king is putting the ring upon the middle finger of the woman's right hand, and thus they were ſolemnly married. I find no mention of the wedding ring in the Saxon Æra, except in the Polychronicon, tranſlated by Treviſa, where there is told a fooliſh ſtory of a young man at Rome (in the time of Edward the Confeſſor) who being at play on the day of his wedding with his friends, "Dyde his ſpouſyng ryngе on the fynger of an ymage" of Venus, and could by no manner of means get it off again. At night, when he ſhould have bedded with his bride, he found the ſtatue in bed in his place: and the ſtatue ſaid to him, "thou haſt ſpouſed me this day". But how ſhould the man have the "ſpouſyng ryngе" in his poſſeſſion after the wedding? except it was cuſtomary abroad for the bridegroom to have a ring as well as the bride: but perhaps, Hidgden may have been as far from juſtice in his mention of the ſpouſing ring, as he is diſtant from the truth in the ſtory itſelf. Though it is very likely that the Saxons might uſe rings at their eſpouſals and marriages; for it is moſt certain that they often were tokens of things of the greateſt conſequence: thus Offa, who after Ethelbert, was heir to the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles (being on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher) adopted Edmund to ſucceed Ethelbert, ſending his ring to him as a token of his reſignation, and thereby ordained him king of the Eaſt Angles.

Vid. Lindewode provin. et Conſtitut. Othoboni, &c.

Conſtitut. Stephani Arch. Cant.

Polychron. Lib. 6. chap 26.

Speed's chr.

The guardianſhip, or Mund of the Saxons, and the diſpoſal of the wards by the Mundbora or guardian, was not only continued by the Normans, but alſo even in the later times; for ſays Grafton in his Chronicle, "It is to be much lamented, that wardes are bought and ſolde as commonlye as are beaſts, and marriages are made with them that they are many tymes very ungodly, for dyverſe of them beyng of yong and tender yeres, are forced to judge by another mannes affection, to ſee with another mannes eye, and ſay yea with another mannes tongue, and finally conſent with another mannes hart. For none of theſe ſences be perfited to the parties in that minoritie, and ſo the election beyng unfree, and the yeres unripe, eche of them almoſt of neceſſitie muſt hate the other, whome yet they have had no judgement to love. And certeinely the common bergayn-

Grafton, page 129.

yng

yng and ſelling of them is be abhorred, beſide the ſhamefull polling that many uſe, which if they conſent not to ſuche as are their ſellers, they ſhall be handeled as the common ſaiyng is, like wardes, and ſtriped almoſt out of al they have, when the ſame ſhould do them moſt good. God graunt (continues he) the majeſtrates maye take ſome good order therein, for ſurely it is nedefull, for many do ſo uſe them, as the ſame is not ſufferable in a chriſtian realme. For who ſeeth not daylye, what innumerable inconveniencies, devorces, yea and ſome murders, have of ſuche marriages (or rather no marriages at all) proceeded, the preſent time ſheweth too many examples, which miniſter ſufficient cauſe for us to bewayle the ſame: but the greateſt injury is to God who hath made that free, namely matrimony, which the lawe of the realme maketh bonde, the redreſſe whereof belongeth onely to the prince."

In the eighth year of king Henry the Third, the parliament granted to the king and his heirs (kings of this realm) by the barony of England, the ward, and marriage of their heyres.

Holling. chron. page 341. Vid. Leges Hen. prim. Eddit. Guliel. Lambert, cap. xi.

In the Reign of Henry the Firſt, there was a law confirmed by parliament, that no contract, made between a man and woman, without witneſſes, concerning marriage, ſhould ſtand good if either of them denied it; and another, that kinsfolk might not contract matrimony, but within the ſeventh degree of conſanguinity; and a third was, that a widow ſhould mourn for her huſband twelve months, after which time ſhe was at liberty to chuſe as ſhe would; but if ſhe married within the ſpace of one year, ſhe ſhould forfeit her dowry Morganzipan, and all the wealth ſhe might have enjoyed from her firſt huſband, &c.

Form of Baptiſm uſed by the Normans.

Vid. Lindewode's Provincial.

Conſtit. Jn. Peckham, Arch. Cant.

Conſtit. Step. Langton, Arch. Cant.

The child was brought to the font (in the ſame manner as it is at this day) attended by the ſponſors; that is, two men and one woman, if a male child; on the contrary, if a female, two women and one man; the infant was put into the water if it could bear it, if not, it was only ſprinkled, and the prieſt ſaid, either in Engliſh, "Ich chriſtine the in the name of the fadeze, and of the ſonne, and of the holye ghaſt, amen; or in French, as, *Je te baptize en nom du pere du filz et du ſaint eſpirit, amen*; or elſe in Latin, as, *Ego te baptizo in nomine patris et filiü et ſpiritus ſancti, amen.* And then the child was anointed with the holy oil:—if the prieſt could not arrive time enough, it was lawful for ſome grave perſon of the laity to baptize it; even the father, or the mother, in time of need; and in ſuch caſe, the prieſt, when he came, was very careful to examine them ſtrictly, concerning the form and method, in which they had adminiſtered this holy ſacrament; and then he performed the ſacred unction, which was not proper for the layman to do.*

Arts

* Thus Mathew Paris, ſpeaking of the inordinate practices of the laymen in the time of the Conqueror; ſays, they prophaned the holy myſteries, baptizing children, and anointed them with filth inſtead of oil; "ſordido aurium humore pro ſacro chriſmate utentes et oleo." &c.—Mat. Paris, ſub An. 1074, in Vit. Williel. Conq.

Arts and Learning of the ANGLO NORMANS.

Tho' the arts cannot yet be ſaid to have matured to great perfection, yet we certainly find them much improved. The buildings of the Normans, together with the many bas-relievo's, and the monumental effigies of their heroes, are not only curious, but many of them abſolutely well executed. The bas-relievo in the chapel of Edward the Confeſſor, within the abbey of Weſtminſter, that exhibits various paſſages of the life of that prince, which together with the rich ſhrine (now ſo ruinated) were all executed by artiſts in the reign of Henry the third: many of the monumental effigies of the Normans were carved in wood; and ſome of them are moſt elegantly well executed. At the church of Danbury, near Chelmsford in Eſſex, there are three beautiful figures carved in wood, of three knights; all of whom being Cruiſadors, are repreſented croſs legged: theſe figures are ſuppoſed to be of the family of the *Sancto Claros*, about the time of king Stephen; they are exceeding fine, and deſigned with much elegance; theſe, with many others may be brought to prove the great height of the art of ſculpture in this æra. Vide Hiſt. of Eſſex.

There alſo flouriſhed in this æra, ſeveral great and learned men, as well hiſtorians, as divines and philoſophers. Of the firſt claſs are William of Malmſbury, Henry Huntingdon, Richard Hexham, Roger Hoveden, and Mathew Paris, who ſtand the foremoſt among a great number of others; and have left us the antient records of our progenitors. They were alſo well ſkilled in aſtronomy, tho' but indifferent geographers: ſome among them were very great critics in chronology: the which with the computation of time, was well underſtood by the Saxons before them, as appears by a valuable M. S. in the Aſhmolean muſeum, written by one *Byrdferthus*, or *Brid fertus*, a monk of Ramſey, who flouriſhed in the reign of Ethelred, about the year of our Lord 980: he tells us that, ꝑiꝑ hund ⁊ ꝑeoꝑeꝑ ⁊ ſẏxtẏ atomi ȝeꝑẏncaꝺ an momentum. ꝑeoꝑeꝑ momenta ȝeꝑẏllaꝺ minutum. ⁊ ꝑeȝen minuta ⁊ healꝑ ȝeꝑẏncaꝺ ane ꝑnican. ⁊ ꝑeoꝑeꝑ ꝑnica ȝeꝑẏncaꝺ ane ꝺiꝺ on ꝺæꝑe ſunnan ſẏne. ⁊ ſẏx ꝺiꝺa ꝑẏncaꝺ anne ꝑẏnꝺlinȝ. ⁊ ꝑeoꝑeꝑ ꝑẏnꝺlinȝaꝑ ꝑẏncaꝺ anne ꝺæȝ. ⁊ ꝑeoꝑon ꝺaȝaꝑ ane ꝑucan, *that is* 564 *atoms make a moment*, 4 *moments make a minute*, 2 *minutes and a half make a prick or point*, 4 *points make a tid or an hour, in the courſe of the ſun*, 6 *tids make a fyrthling*, 4 *fyrthlings a day, and ſeven days a week*. This author improved upon Bede, whom he calls anꝑuſꝺa ꝑimcnæꝑtiȝa *a worthy chronologer*. Caxton in the Engliſh edition of the Polychronicon, tells us that Lotharyngus, biſhop of Hereford, "was connyng of al maner of artes and ſcyences, ſpecially he conth ſkylle in abacion that is a table to make by dyverſe figures and ſhappes, he knewe the cours of the mone and other ſterres and planetes," he was alſo connynge in chronology, and in the ſame book ſpeaking of Robert Groſthed, biſhop of Lincoln, ſays, "he was connyng in all the liberal artes, and ſpecially he expowned many thynges in logyk, etyks, and aſtrologye." So ſays Hollingſhead, in the time of Richard the firſt, flouriſhed Robert de Bello-Foco, an excellent philoſopher: and in the reign of John, there lived one Simon Thurnaye, who being an excellente philoſopher, but ſtanding too much in his owne conceyt, upon a ſuddayne dyd ſo forget all his knowledge in learning,

M. S. apud Bib. Aſhmol Oxon.

Polychronicon, lib. 7, chap. 2.

Ibid, lib. 7, chap. 36. Holl. Chron. P. 541.

ing, that he became the moſt ignorant of all other; a puniſhment (as was thought) appoynted to hym of God, for ſuche blaſphemies as he hadde wickedly uttered, both againſt Moſes and Chriſt.

Their ſkill in ſurgery, at the beginning of this period, muſt have been very trifling indeed, if we may believe the old poet Robert of Gloceſter, who ſpeaking of the Duke of Auſtrich, that took king Richard the firſt priſoner, ſays

Rob. Gloſ. in vit. Ric. pri. p. 490.

Ye fel of his Paleyrey and hyrt is fot by cas
So ſuayt ſo eni cyowe a moywe his fot was
Tho that his leches ſede, theyr nas red bote on
Othyr ſmite of is fot, othyr he was ded anon
He het it do haſteliche, ac non me ne fond
Of alle is men, that wolde ſette theyr on hand
A kene ax him ſulf he huld theyto atte laſte
And mid ſtrengthe hit is chambelein theyron ſmite haſte
Theyr on he ſmot thyice, the wrecche to gyet pine
So that he ſmot of than vot mid great wo atte fine.

Which verſes import, that he fell off from his horſe, and ſorely bruiſed his foot; and his phyſicians declared that if it was not immediately ſmitten off, he would die; but none would undertake the performance of the operation; till the duke took a ſharp ax, and bid the chamberleyn ſtrike it off, and he ſmote thrice ere he could do it, putting the duke to moſt horrid torture. And Hollingſhead tells us, that in the time of Henry the third, there lived one Richard, ſurnamed Medicus, "a moſt learned phiſician, and no leſs expert in philoſophy and mathematics:" but makes not the leaſt mention of ſurgery. Alſo ſome authors have attributed the death of Richard the firſt, (wounded in the ſhoulder at the caſtle of Chalezun) to the unſkillfulneſs of thoſe who had the care of the wound, and not from the quarrel's being poiſoned, as others have inſinuated.

Hollingſh. Chron. pag. 814.

Rog. Hoved. Rog. Wendover.

The End of the NORMAN Æra.

The

THE

ENGLISH ÆRA;

FROM

The Beginning of the Reign of EDWARD the Firſt,

TO

The Latter End of HENRY the Seventh.

NOW are we come to the laſt ſtage of this work, the æra of the Engliſh; and as here we have a larger proſpect opened before us, the manners and cuſtoms of theſe later days, may be better explained; firſt becauſe the hiſtorians are more numerous, and ſecondly becauſe the particular cuſtoms of this æra, have been better attended to by them than they were in the former ages. And in the firſt place we will ſpeak of their

FORTIFICATIONS.

The Norman caſtles (as we have ſeen before) conſiſted of a *baſe-court*, a *keep*, and *barbacans* before the baſe-court; the ſame method of fortification was almoſt continually practiced till the invention of guns, and when they were brought in common into uſe, the method of attack being then ſo different from the former uſages, of courſe required the making their fortifications upon a plan entirely different from that of their anceſtors. The ſides of the walls were ſtrengthened with innumerable angles, towers, and buttreſſes; and on the top with ſtrong battlements, and kirnelles *. The caſtle itſelf alſo (as formerly) for its greater ſtrength and defence, was ſurrounded with a broad deep ditch, which was filled with water; unleſs the ſituation of the place was ſuch, that water could not be got at, ſufficient for the purpoſe; and then the ditch was dug ſhelving down, and fortified with ſharp ſtakes, thick ſet all round the walls, and ſtrong paliſa-

* Kirnelles, ſays Hearne, (in his Gloſſary at the end of Robert of Gloceſter's Chronicle) are horn works, corners, or holes in the battlements.

does. Thus ſays Froiſſart, ſpeaking of the town D'Aurene, beſieged by John a Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter; "*il ne avoit point d'eaue au foſſes, mais il y avoit bons Pallis de boys audevant des murs, & y avoit de bonnes Eſpines & de Ronces, ou gens darmes ne ſe pouvoient jamais embatre.*" *That is, there was no water in the ditches, but they had ſtrong paliſadoes before the wall, beſides great piles, and ſharp ſtakes, where the ſoldiers could never come to fight* *. Tho' it is not fully expreſſed here, yet it plainly afterwards appears, that this town was ſurrounded with a double ditch: the firſt (next the wall) was occupied by the palliſadoes; and the outermoſt by the ſharp ſtakes, and the piles.

Froiſſart, v. 3. in Vita Reg. Ricardi Secundi.

Over the ditch was the drawbridge, at the principal gate. The chief Gatehouſes (particularly to the walled cities) were for the moſt part made four ſquare; having each corner well fortified with a ſtrong tower: and over the entrance, within the ſquare of the gatehouſe, a ſtrong vaulted arch, with a chamber above it; through this arch were certain holes made, by means of which thoſe above in the chamber, might, unſeen of them below, ſee and examine all that paſſed: and the principal uſe of theſe holes was, when the enemy ſhould have broken open the outer gate, and were got within the ſquare of the gate-houſe; then they in the chamber, poured upon them through thoſe holes boiling oil, melted lead, and the like, as they came forward to force the inner gate.

It is next to impoſſible to deſcribe the form of theſe later built caſtles, becauſe they were conſtantly varied according to the humour of the conſtructor, or to ſuit with the convenience of the places whereon they were built: ſome were ſquare; others oblong, or round; ſome few with keeps, though indeed for the moſt part they were without: the walls of all their fortifications were made of rubble ſtone and cement, like thoſe of their anceſtors, both Saxons and Normans.

The Method of beſieging Caſtles, or fortified Towns.

Froiſſart Vol. 2.

Grafton p. 277.

When a regular ſiege was made upon a town or caſtle, the firſt care was (if poſſible) to ſtop up all the avenues; as well to prevent the ſallying forth of thoſe within, as to hinder all aſſiſtance that might be given from without.—Thus king Edward the Third, when he laid ſiege to the town of Callice, built ſtrong towers between

* The method the Duke took in aſſaulting this town was this: --- men well armed advanced to the ditch, being well provided with axes, and other neceſſary implements, and thus began by cutting down the ſharp ſtakes; mean time the archers of the Duke's army plyed the beſieged ſo faſt with their arrows, that they ſcarcely dared to look over the wall: however, notwithſtanding all theſe neceſſary precautions, the piles being but newly put down, they met with the greateſt difficulty to cut and break them off; and many of the ſoldiers were killed by the darts of the enemy; but, encouraged by the preſence of the Duke, they cleared the paſſage over the firſt foſſe, up to the paliſadoes: thus ended the firſt aſſault. To make the ſecond, they went well provided with large axes, "des haches a grans "fer, longs, et larges," up to the ſecond ditch, which was full as large as the firſt, and ſet with the paliſadoes: however, impatient at the thoughts of theſe difficulties, they leaped into the ditch, broke up the paliſadoes, and came up cloſe to the wall: while thoſe above poured down whole ſhowers of darts, of ſtones, and other offenſive weapons, making great carnage.---The next ſtep of the undaunted Engliſhmen was to apply their ſcaling ladders to the wall, which they had ready prepared by the carpenters of the army: then the valiant knights and eſquires mounted the ladders, covering their heads with their targets; and, with their ſwords in their hands, came hand to hand in fight with the beſieged; who, notwithſtanding a long and valiant reſiſtance, at laſt were overcome, and forced to yield up the town. Froiſſart's Chronicle, vol. 3.

between the town and the haven; and another tower behind the town to guard the paſſage towards the Downs.—So alſo Henry the Fifth, when he came before the town of Caen in Normandy, cauſed forthwith a high mount and deep trenches to be made, to keep thoſe within from iſſuing out:—The next care was to annoy the beſieged as much as poſſible; this was done by erecting high towers of wood to overlook the town; and from thence to play upon thoſe within with ſtones, arrows, and other miſſive weapons.—This indeed was an ancient cuſtom, as is ſhewn in the Firſt Volume, and Richard the Firſt, in his wars abroad, had (ſays an old poet, who wrote his hiſtory)

Hollingſhead, p. 1187

Page 94.

——— A Caſtell I underſtond,
That was made of Tymber, yn Englond:
With ſeve Stages, y made of Styzelles
Well and flouzyſched, with gode Kezneles.

M.S. apud Bib. Harl. inſig. 4690.

And this caſtle he took in the ſhips with him, ſays Robert de Brunne,

In ſchip he did it lede,
To raiſe up bi the walle,
And if him ſlode in nede,
To cobeze him with alle.

Peter Langtoft's Chron improved by Robert de Brunne, in Vita Ricardi Primi.

and this he ſet up againſt the walls of the city of Meſſina, and called it, ſays Caxton Hate gryffons: and with this caſtle he afterwards took the city of *Arces*. And a caſtle, or rather tower, ſomething like this, is mentioned by Froiſſart to have been uſed by the Engliſh at the ſiege of *Reole*: it was made (ſays he) to run upon wheels, ſo that it might be moved by the ſoldiers wherever they deſired; within it would eaſily contain an hundred knights and an hundred archers, ſo that having filled the ditch, the engine was brought to the walls:---its frame was of ſtrong timber, covered over with boiled leather, to prevent its being ſet on fire. From this tower the archers annoyed the beſieged with their arrows; while the reſt, with pickaxes and hammers, beat down part of the wall (in ſpite of all the reſiſtance the beſieged made with their darts) ſo that they entered the town, and took it.

Polychron. lib. 7. c. 26.

Froiſſart, v. 4. in Vita Ric. Secun.

And Edward the Third, at the ſiege of Callice (as above-mentioned) made a ſtrong high tower, or caſtle of wood, betwixt the town and the ſea. And Henry the Fifth, at the ſiege of *Meaux*, "deviſed mightie engines of boards (ſays Hollingſhead) to defend the Engliſhmen as they approached the walls, and gave the aſſaults."

Hollingſhead Chron. p. 1214.

The better to come at the walls, they filled up the ditch: as, ſays Grafton, the Scots, in the reign of Edward the Third, at the aſſault of a caſtle (belonging to the earl of Saliſbury) "caryed wood and tymber to have filled up the ditches, to entent to bring their engines to the walles,"---and that they might alſo have firm footing, to ſet their ſcaling-ladders, which the beſieged endeavoured as much as poſſible to prevent: Thus ſay the chronicles, that the town of Caen, when beſieged by the Engliſh, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, was ſtrongly fortified, having fixed upon the top of the embattlements "great rolls of timber ſo moving, and ſo unſteadfaſt, that neither any ſcaleing lader could catche any holde, nor no perſon that ſhould climb up could get any ſure footing."

Grafton, page 251.

Ib. p. 604.

Again

Again when a town was ſituate near the water ſide, ſo that boats could come up to the walls, they uſed to faſten boats and barges together, and ſo upon them make a platform for the ſoldiers and their engines to paſs the water in the ditch.

Having thus paſſed the ditch, and got ſure footing by the wall, they ſet their ſcaling ladders. Thus the Engliſh, in the reign of Richard the Second, (ſays Grafton) at the ſiege of Berwick caſtle, had ladders, which they rered up againſt the walls, and they went upon them with targets over their heads and before them, and ſo came and fought with the Scottes hand to hand upon the walls.

Graft. Chron. 328. And the ſame author, ſpeaking of the ſiege of Werley caſtle by the Scots and

Ibid. 357. French, ſays, the Frenchmen mounted up by ladders, and fought hand to hand with the Engliſh, with daggers upon the walls. At the ſiege of Caen, in the fifth year of Henry the Fifth, the Engliſhmen ſtudied all the ways poſſible to dammage their enemies, ſome ſhot arrowes, ſome ſet ſcaleing ladders to the walls, other ſhot *gonnes*, ſome brake the walles with engines, and other caſt wild fire; every man endeavouring to come hand to hand in engagement with his enemies.

Beſides theſe methods of aſſault, they uſed at times to undermine the walls, and the miners ſupported their work with wooden pillars, rubbed over with roſin, pitch, and other combuſtible matters, ſo that when the work was finiſhed, the pillars were ſet on fire, and they giving way, the part that was undermined of

Holling. pag. 1187. neceſſity muſt fall down. Thus, ſays Hollingſhead, while king Henry the Fifth lay before the town of Caen, "and ſeeing that he loſt more than he wonne by his dayly aſſaultes, he determined to undermyne the walles, wherefore the pioners caſt trenches, and made mines, and brought tymber; ſo that within a few

Graft. 465. dayes the walles ſtood only on poſtes, ready to fall when fire ſhould be put to them." And Grafton here adds, "The king cauſed his people to approche the walles, and keepe the citezens occupied, leſt they ſhould make a countermine to be an impediment to his workmen and labourers, wherefore he cauſed the aſſault to be cried again." Thus much for the beſiegers. Let us now examine what methods the beſieged had of defending themſelves: "The Normans, (ſays

Ibid. Grafton, ſpeaking of the above ſiege of Caen) ſeeing themſelves cloſely beſieged, threwe downe great ſtones, barres of yron, dartes, hot pitch, brennyng brimſtone, and boyling lead," &c. And when the Engliſh had taken the above city (of Caen) in the 20th year of Edward the Third, as they entered therein, the

Holling. chron. page 930. Frenchmen went into their houſes, and caſt down upon the Engliſhmen below in the ſtreets, great ſtones, timber, hot water, and bars of iron; ſo that they hurt and ſlew more than five hundred perſons. And at the ſiege of the town of Eme,

Ibid. p. 1176. in the reign of Henry the Fifth, "many Engliſhmen were hurt with quarrells ſhot from the loupes and walles of the town."

King Edward, ſays Stow, when he had taken the mannors of Markes and Hay, (the enemy being ſtill near them) with great difficulty built in them forts and caſtles, ſetting in order where walls were wanting, hogſheads filled with ſtones, to defend the workmen from the enemy while they built the walls within.

Engines

Engines and Warlike Inſtruments uſed at the Sieges of Caſtles and Fortified Towns, &c.

Beſides thoſe machines mentioned page 95 of the firſt volume, they had engines which threw a ſort of wild fire, long before the invention of gunpowder, which fire was made of ſo ſubtle a compoſition, that there was no way whatever of extinguiſhing it, but by ſmothering it with heaps of duſt. Hollingſhead tells us, that when the Black Prince, at the ſiege of *Remorentine*, ſaw that the caſtle was not to be won by aſſault, he deviſed engines, wherewith they caſt wylde fyre into the baſe court, and ſo ſette it on fyre, whiche encreaſed in ſuch vehemente ſorte, that it toke into the coveryng of a great tower, (which was covered with reede) then they within yielded up the caſtle.

Camden's Remains, 239.

Holling. page 958.

Of Richard the Firſt, ſays Robert de Brunne, (in his wars againſt the *Saracens*) that,

In bargeis and galleis
Ye ſet mylnes to go,
The failes as men fais
Som weze black and blo.

Some weze rede and grene,
The wynde about them blewe,
A ſelly ſight to ſene,
Fize the failes threwe.

Peter Langtoff's Chron. improv. by R. de Brunne

The ſtones weze of Rynes,
The noiſe dredfulle & gzete;
It affzaid the Sazazins
As leven the fize out ſchete.

Which imports, that *in his barges and galleys he had mills, which were turned by the wind, and by force of the ſails threw fire and ſtones, which were got from the Rhine.** Fabian, ſpeaking of the ſea fight againſt the Flemmens, the 15th year of Edward the Third, ſays, "With bydous & fezeful dynne & noyſe of gunnes, with tezzyble flamyng of wylde fyze." And Harding, writing of the acts of Henry the Fifth, ſays

Fabian, vol. 1.

With his gunnes caſtyng, they made the towze to fal,
And their bulwerke bzent with ſhot of wild fyze.

Harding's Chron. ch. 222, p. 210.

The ſtrength of their machines for throwing ſtones, was incredibly great; Camden informs us, that with the mangonels, trabuches and briccolas, they uſed to caſt forth *mill ſtones*; and ſays Hollingſhead, king Edward the Firſt, at the ſiege of Strively Caſtle, "cauſed certain engins of wood to be reiſed up againſt the caſtell, which ſhot off ſtones of two or three hundred weight:" this engine Camden ſuppoſes was the *war wolfe*; but all theſe machines were by degrees left off, as cannons and great guns came into eſteem. Some authors have ſuppoſed that the invention of gunpowder, was about the year 1381, made publick, which was the 5th year of our king Richard the Second: when ſay they it

Holling. Chron. 839.

Polydore de invent. rerum.

* Strange ſtones were found in the river Rhine, fit for the warlike engines.—Hearne's Gloſſ. at the end of Robert de Brunne's Chronicle.

Graft. 345. it was diſcovered by a German: but as Camden juſtly obſerves, it muſt have been much earlier: "For," ſays he, (ſpeaking of guns) "the very time of their firſt invention is uncertaine, but certaine it is that king Edward the Third uſed them at the ſiege of Calice, 1347, for *gunnarii* † had their pay there, as appears by record." About thirty-three years before they were ſeen in Italy, about that time they began, as it ſeemeth to be uſed in Spaine, but named by writers *dolia igninoma*, as fire flaſhing veſſels; yet the French, as Polydore Vergil noteth, ſkant knew the uſe of them, untill the yeare 1425. Froiſſart, in the life of Richard the Second, ſpeaking of a ſea engagement, tells us, that John Bucq, the Flemiſh admiral, was in a ſhip that carried three *canons*, which caſt forth darts or quarrels (*carrieaux*) ſo large and heavy, that they did great damages whereſoever they fell: moſt certainly at the firſt invention of guns, they ſhot darts and arrows from them: an old‡ M. S. chronicle, ſaid to have been written by Dowglaſs, a monk of Glaſtonbury, informs us, that in the 9th year of Henry the Fourth, the earl of Kent was ſmote upon the head with a quarrel, ſhot from a *gonne*, of which wound he died: after this they uſed ſtones, thus ſays the chronicle, called Brute of England, when Henry the Fifth received a taunting meſſage from the dauphin of France, and a ton of tennice balls by way of deriſion; "he anoone lette make tenes balles for the dolfin, in alle the haſte, that he myght, and they were greae gonneſtones, for the dolfin to playe with alle." And after tells us of the dreadful effects of thoſe *gunſtones*, in the following words, "and there" (before Hareflete) "he" (Henry the Fifth) "playede at the tenys with his harde gonne ſtones, that were ſhot into the towne; and whenne they beganne to pleye, they within the towne ſange welle awaye, and ſeyde, allas that evir ſuche tenes balles were made, and curſede alle thoſe that the warre bygganne, and the tyme that they evir were borne." We are not certain of what materials theſe guns were made in general, though Caxton ſays, that in the year 1436, was taken from the French, "a grete gonne of braſs, whiche was called dygeon, and many other grete gonnes and ſerpentyns; theſe laſt were perhaps a ſmaller ſort of guns.

Camden's Remains, page 241.

M. S. in the Harliean Lib. marked 4690, or Dunſtable chron.

M.S. Harliean Lib. marked 24, fol. 170.

Ibid M. S. fol. 171.

Addit. to the Polychronicon. chap. 20, fol. 415.

Plate 6, fig. 20 and 21 of this vol. repreſents two cannons taken from the 42d plate of vol. 3. of Montfaucons *MonarchieFrancois*, they are moſt probably made either of iron, or braſs, and bound round with many ſtrong hoops, the better to reſiſt the force of the powder; theſe he has given in a print from an illumination, repreſenting the ſiege which the Dauphin laid to the camp of lord Talbot before Dieppe, in the year, 1442, the 21ſt of Henry the Sixth; but in plates 43 and 44 of this volume. the cannons are made upon a much better conſtruction, and ſeem more likely to do execution. When Henry the Fifth in the fourth year of his reign, prepared to go over ſea into Fyance, he ſtocked himſelf (ſays the Dunſtable Chronicle) with all maner of ordinyance, that is to ſay armoure, gonnes, tripgettis, engines, ſcales, baſtelles, brugges of lether, pabyſſes, bowe and arowes; and thither come unto hym ſhippes lade with gonnes, and gonnepowder. The *tripget* was alſo an engine for throwing ſtones; *ſcales*, or ſcaling ladders; *baſtelles*, are wooden caſtles; *brugges*, are ſmall boats of leather, ſee the article navigation: *pavyſſes*, were the large ſhields uſed by the pavyſers, in ſcaling the walls of towns, &c. ſee more of this in the account of the ſoldiers and their arms, which follows.

Vide Montfaucon, vol. 3. page 228.

Ex. M.S. marked 24, Harl. Lib.

Soldiers

* They are called *gunners* and *artillers*, in the liſt of the army, in an old Engliſh M. S. in the Harliean Library, written the beginning of the reign of Henry the Sixth, marked 53.

Soldiers, and Armies of the ENGLISH.

The Engliſh chiefly depended upon the force of their infantry; and the bravery and expertneſs of their archers, which was always the firſt ſtep to victory: for with their long bows, and ſharp barbed arrows, they did great execution; and diſordered the battles of the enemy; the mean while the men of arms, taking the advantage of the confuſion, ruſhed in upon them in good order, bearing down all before them; and this often, when the numbers of the enemy where conſiderably ſuperiour to their own.

Their armies were compoſed of many different degrees, as, firſt the chief leaders; ſecondly, bannerets; thirdly, knights; fourthly, men of arms; fifthly, archers; ſixthly, croſs-bowmen; ſeventhly, of glave or bill men; eightly, of paviſſers; and ninthly, hobbilers; theſe were the principal:—On the chief leader attended a chaplain, a phyſician, and a crier, and all the leaders had their *bannerers*, or ſtandard bearers, from the king to the banneret: the knights attendants were the eſquires, and the *ſargiauntes* attended on the men of arms. Beſides theſe, in the liſt of the army which went over with king Edward the Third, to the ſiege of Callice, were *guners* and *artillers*; *maſons*; *carpenters*; *ſmythes*; *pavylers*, or *paviloners*; *mynours*; *armerers*; and *vintenares*. MS. chron. in the Harl. Lib. mark'd No. 53.

The *bannerets* and *knights* made a conſiderable figure in the armies of the Engliſh: the title of *banneret* was particularly honourable, becauſe he was only created in the field, as a reward of his bravery and good ſervice. See the chapter treating on the creations of knights, which follows hereafter.

The *men of arms* * fought both on horſeback and on foot, though on foot they generally performed their chief ſervice, for they ſeldom mounted their horſes but to purſue the enemy. They were at times habited in a body-armour of iron, and plates of iron on their arms; the joints are defended with mail, which was worn under the whole armour (therefore often called by the hiſtorians a ſhirt of mail;) ſee many of the figures exhibited in the 53 plates of the life of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, given in this volume. At other times they were ſtill cloſer armed, with the joints of the armour defended by plates of iron;† the ſame is alſo ſeen in fig. 8, plate 4, of this volume, which repreſents the men of arms in the reign of Richard the Second; and fig. 2. of the ſame plate, the man of arms in the time of Henry the Sixth.

The *archers* were armed with a body-armour, the arms being left perfectly free, ſee plate 40; ſometimes indeed they wore a brigandine of mail, which came before them like an apron, plate 13; their arms were a long bow, a ſheaf of arrows, a ſword, and a ſmall ſhield, ſee plate 13 of this vol. Fabian thus deſcribes their habit at the battle of Agincourt; "the yomen hadde at thoſe dayes theyr lymmes Fabian, vol. 2. page 172.

* They are ſometimes called by Froiſſart gens d'armes, at other times lances, from the ſpears or lances that they often carried.

† Theſe anſwer very well with the deſcription Froiſſart has given of them, when he calls them "hommes armez de pied en cap de toute piece & armeuzes de fer." That is, men armed cap a pie, or from head to foot at all points in iron armour.

lymmes at lyberype, for theyr hoſyn were than faſtened wyth one point, and theyr jackes were longe & eaſy to ſhote in, ſo that they myghte drawe bowes of great ſtrength and ſhote arowes of a yerde longe beſides the hedde."* And ſays Caxton, "the yemanry hadde theyr hoſen tezven or bounden bynethe the knee, having long jackys. But every man hade a good bowe, a ſheef, arowys, and a ſwerd."

Addit. to Polychron. book 8, ch. 13.

The croſs bow men were much the ſame in armour and accoutrements, with thoſe before deſcribed in the Norman æra, ſee plate 40 of this vol.

The bill men, ſo called from the weapon which they bear, reſembling a bill, or hooked ax; theſe as in plate 55, were ſometimes armed in brigadines of mail; and at other times they appear to be armed but very ſlightly, ſee plate 22.

Holl. 954.

The glave men, differed only in the weapon, which they bore from the bill men; for as the hooked ax was called a bill, the other ax was called a glave; ſee the difference between theſe weapons, plate 5 of this volume.

The paviſſors,† alſo were ſo called from the pavice, or ſhield which they bore; this ſhield was large enough to cover the whole of their bodies. Theſe men were particularly ſerviceable at ſieges, to ſcale the walls, &c. which they did, bearing their ſhields before them.‡

Lamb. perambulation of Kent, fol. 70.

Ant. Hibern

The hobbilers § were aunciently ſuche men (ſays Lambarde) as in time of daunger rode in poſte from place to place, to give notice thereof upon hobbyes, or nagges; whereof the name of hobbilers was given to them; others ſay, they were certain perſons, who were by their tenure obliged to maintain a little nag, or hobby, to ſerve the king in the wars, either at home or abroad.

Graft. 295.

The bannerers, or ſtandard-bearers, always went before their chiefs with a proper guard: thus the black prince at the battle of Poictiers, ſaid to his ſtandard-bearer, "advance your banner in the name of God, and St. George," and the knight that bore it did his commandment.—And thus ſays Froiſſart, ſpeaking of the ſame prince, at this battle, "Le prince qui tendoit a toute perfection de bien et donner chevaulchoit touſours avant, ſa bannieze devant lui en resconfortant ſes chevaliers la ou il les veoit ouvrir," that is, *the prince in every thing performed the part of an excellent warriour, rideing at the head of his army*, with his banner born before him, *to aid and aſſiſt his ſoldiers wherever they were oppreſſed.*

The ſtandard-bearers were always cloſer and ſtronger armed than any of the other ſoldiers; ſee the figure, plate 46, who holds the banner of the earl of Warwick.

Froiſſart

* Thus in the old ſong of Chevy chace, ſpeaking of an Engliſh archer, "he had a bowe bent in his hande, made of a truſte tre, an arrowe of a clothe yerde long, unto the hede drew he."

† I fancy that theſe were the ſame with thoſe ſoldiers, called *brigans*, ſo named in thoſe days ſays Hollingſhead, from an armour which they called *brigandine*, uſed by the footmen that alſo bore targettes, or pavoiſes, Holling. p. 978. Brigandine was a jacket, or coat of auncient armor of ſcale, like plates, and many joynts: Vide Gloſſographia; perhaps this was not unlike the armor worn by the fig. 2, plate 31, vol. 1. Brigandine alſo ſignified a coat of mail.

‡ They had alſo other ſhields which they uſed at ſieges, ſee plate 5, fig. 19 and 20. Father Montfaucon ſuppoſes, that fig. 19, is a ſhield framed of wood; and that fig. 20, is one made with oſiers, interwoven, or as he calls it, *une tiſſue d'oſier*, and ſomething of this ſort the croſs-bow-men ſeem to have to defend them (ſee plate 43 of this volume) while they ſhot their quarrels, to annoy the enemy that are in the ſhips, which are lying before the town.—They in the veſſels have ſhields, ſet up in the fore-caſtle, to ſecure the mariners from the ſhot of the croſs-bows.

§ Hommes armez montez ſur petites naguenees.---Armed men mounted upon little naggs or hobbys. Froiſſart, vol. 3.

Froiſſart, alſo among the forces of the Engliſh, mentions "*de gros-varletz*," theſe I fancy were the attendants who did the drudgery of the camp.

The helmets of all theſe ſoldiers are ſo numerous, and different, that it would require almoſt an age to deſcribe them all; the reader is referred to the examination of the plates of this volume, where there is to be found a great variety; the ſame may be ſaid of the impoſſibility of particulariſing the other armour, any further than has already been done (eſpecially in that fantaſtical period the reign of Henry the Sixth) a ſpecimen of which the reader will find, in the 4th plate of this volume; whereon is repreſented ten different ſoldiers, all from a MS. written and illuminated in that reign, on purpoſe, as a preſent for the king himſelf. Walſingham, page 104.

The biſhop of Exeter, when he was taken in the reign of Edward the Second, had on a coat of defence, called *aketon*, which was moſt likely a kind of mail, worn by the nobles of the realm.

The Manner of Encampment.

Having taken poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous part of the field, they ſet up their ſtandard; thus Robert de Brunne, ſpeaking of the battle of Lewis, in the reign of Henry the Third, ſays,

Rob. de Brunne, Edit. Hearne p. 217.

Symoun com to the feld
And put up his baneze,
The Kyng ſchewed foyth his ſcheld
His dragon fulle auſteze,
The Kyng ſaide on hie,
Symon ſco vous defie.

This was Symon de Mountfort, a principal leader of the barons againſt the king.—In the reign of Edward the Third (ſays Stow) the French king, when he had taken poſſeſſion of the field at Creſſy, before the battle, ſet up his banner, called *auriflaine*, after which time it was not lawful for a French man to ſave the life of any priſoner that he might take: this banner, that it might differ from his ſtandard, had in it lillies of gold very broad; on the other ſide, king Edward commanded his banner to be erected of the dragon, which ſignified fierceneſs and cruelty, to be turned againſt the lillies.—Then they fortifyed their camps either with deep trenches, or palliſadoes, ſee plate 44 of this volume: the duke of Normandy fortifyed his army againſt king Edward the Third, encloſing the field with great rampires of earth; and (ſays Grafton) "the duke of Somerſet (perſued by Edward the Fourth, to Twekeſbury) entendyng to abyde bataile, like a politike warriour, trenched his campe rounde aboute of ſuche an altitude, and ſo ſtrongly, that his enemies by no means eaſily could make any entry." The French in the reign of Richard the Second, intending to have invaded England, made a wall of wood; this wall (ſays Walſingham) was built to the height of twenty feet; and every twelve foot was made a tower, large enough to hold ten men; which towers were built ten feet higher than the reſt of the wall; it contained (ſays Hollingſhead) when ſet up, full 3000 paces, and was to have been brought over in their ſhips to defend their men, from arrowes of the Engliſh

Stow's chronicle, 242.

Hollingſhead Chron. 919.

Grafton, page 709.

Walſingham, 315.

Holl Chron. p. 1053.

Lambard's Peramb. of Kent, page 139.

Engliſh archers. But their ſhips being taken by the Engliſh, the wall was brought to Sandwich, and there ſet up (ſays Lambard) "to our great ſafety, and the repulſe of the Frenchmen."

The Arrangement of the Army.

Grafton, page 704.

As we have ſeen before in the Norman Æra, ſo we ſhall now find in this, that the battle was begun by the archers. "The trumpets blew to battle; the archers firſt began, and the bill-men followed," (ſays Grafton) ſpeaking of the battle at Barnet, in the 10th year of Edward the Fourth; the men of arms and the cloſe armed ſoldiers ſupported the encounter.

Holling-ſhead, p. 792.

Edward the Firſt intermixed the archers with the cavalry, at the battle fought againſt Lewellin, prince of Wales, near Orewin Bridge; and they (according to Hollingſhead) did great execution. The ſame did the earl of Warwick, in a battle againſt the Welch, in the 23d year of the reign of the above king: "They on the earl's approach had ſet their men of arms fronting his army, with exceeding long ſpears or launces, which being placed in the earth, the points were ſuddenly turned towards the earl and his company, to brake the force of the Engliſh cavalry; but the earl had well provided againſt them, for between every two horſemen he placed an archer; ſo that by their miſſive weapons, thoſewho held the launces were put to the rout." At the battle of Foukirke, the 26th year of Edward the Firſt, "the Scotts devided their battles into four ſchiltrons, as they termed them, (ſays Hollingſhead) or as we may ſay, round battailes, in forme of a circle, in the which ſtoode theyr people that caried long ſtaves or ſpeares, which they croſſed joyntly together one within another, betwixt which ſkiltrons, or round battails, were certain ſpaces left, the which wer filled wyth theyr archers and bowmen; and behinde all theſe were theyr horſemen placed: they had alſo prudently choſen a ſtrong ground, ſomewhat ſideling on the ſide of a hill." Or take the deſcription from the old poetical hiſtorian Peter Langtoff, as tranſlated and improved by Robert de Brunne:

Nic. Trivet Annales, fol. 282.

Holling. p. 833.

R. de Brunne Edit. T. Hearne, page 304.

Our Ingliſſmen & thei
Ther togidere mette
Ther formaſt conuey
Ther backkis togidere ſette
Ther ſperes poynt ober poynt
So faſt & ſo thikke
And faſte togidere joynt
To ſee it was fer like.

Als a caſtelle thei ſtode
That were walled with ſtone, &c.

Froiſſart MS. vol. 1, ſeul. 63.

The common method of the Engliſh was to divide their whole force into three main battles, except perhaps a company or ſo that might be ſet aſide for an ambuſh, or to be ready to ſuccour wherever they ſaw any diſorder.

Thus, ſays Froiſſart, when the king of England (Edward the Third) was preparing for an engagement with the French king, in the 13th year of his reign, he divided his forces into three well ſet battles or ſquadrons on foot: their horſes and baggage were put into a little wood behind them, which they fortified.

fortified. In the firſt battle were 22 banners, 60 penons, and at leaſt 8000 warlike men: this was led by the duke of Gherles. In the ſecond battle were 24 banners and 80 penons, conſiſting alſo of 8000 men, headed by the duke of Brabent; and the third battle, which was the largeſt, had in it 28 banners, and about 90 penons; and in this battle were full 8000 men of arms, and 8000 archers: this was led by the king himſelf, attended by many of the principal nobles of England. Then there was alſo ordained another battle, as a wing, commanded by the earl of Warwick, the earl of Pembroke, lord Bercley, lord Multon and others, on horſeback; theſe were to ſtand aloof, and give ſuccour occaſionally to any of the other companies that ſhould begin to be confuſed or hard preſſed by the enemy. The battles thus ordained, the king (mounted on a little hobby) rode with his marſhalls from rank to rank, begging and exhortting the earls, barons, chevaliers, &c. that they ſhould think of their honour and renown. Every lord ſtanding under his banner, and every banneret under his penon or pendant, ſtrict command was given that none ſhould quit his poſt, or go before his banner. Yet (ſays my author) notwithſtanding all theſe preparations, both the French and the Engliſh withdrew their forces without ſtriking a ſingle ſtroke. Some few inſtances are found of their marſhelling their army in a different manner. Edward the Third, in the 34th year of his reign, came before Paris (ſays Speed) with his army divided into nine battalions. And in the battle fought againſt the Flemiſh ruffians, by the biſhop of Norwich and his company, in the 6th year of Richard the Second, the foot were ſet in the form of a wedge, ſharp at the front, and broad behind, armed with ſharp axes: on either ſide ſtood a wing of archers, and the reer was brought up by the cavalry. Walſingham in Vit. Reg. Ricard. 2.

At the battle of Poictiers, the Black Prince was obliged to take other methods, becauſe of the unequal number of his antagoniſts. The French (ſays Froiſſart) came into the field with full 60000 fighting men, beſides 3000 horſemen; while the Engliſh in all could only muſter up 8000. MS. Froiſſart, v. 2, fol. 17.

The French were divided into three battles on foot, one led by the marſhall of France, another by the duke of Normandy, and the third by the king himſelf; and 300 choſen men of armes, in cloſe armour of iron, mounted upon the very flower of their horſes, were appointed to break in upon the archers of the Engliſh: theſe men were alſo very expert, and could fight on foot, if occaſion ſhould require it, as well as on horſeback.

The prince, thoroughly ſenſible of the care and ſagacity that was neceſſary in this extremity, prudently choſe out a convenient place, having a narrow entrance, which was well fortified by nature with thick buſhes and a ſtrong hedge; and behind theſe buſhes he placed a great number of archers in ſuch faſhion, that neither the horſemen nor the men of arms (of the enemy) could approach them to do them damage: nor could they come near the army of the prince, without paſſing the whole force of the archers, who were planted in double rows. This done, the prince martialed his battle in the following manner: All the men of arms were ſet on foot, and the archers placed before them, in the form of an herſe,* or herche. Againſt the battle of the marſhall of France, the prince ordained

* Orthiophalanx, or the deep phalange, (commonly called the herſe) is that which proceedeth by wing, having the depth much exceeding the length. Bingham's Notes upon the Tacticks of Ælian, page 138.

dained a wing of experienced knights and batchelors; and on the top of a hillock, of pretty eaſy acceſs, he placed 300 horſemen, and as many archers on horſeback, againſt the battle of the duke of Normandy, who with his forces had taken poſſeſſion of the plain at the foot of the hill. The prince himſelf with his great battle was on foot in the front; but all their horſes were placed under the cover of the buſhes, oppoſite to which the prince placed the carriages and baggage by way of defence on that ſide, with a ſtrong gaurd, ſo that none could enter to aſſail him from that quarter. Lord James Audley, before the engagement, humbly beſeeched the prince, that he might give the onſet, which being granted, he with four ſtout and valiant knights to guard his perſon, placed himſelf in the front of all the battles; mean while the prince was buſyed in chearing up the ſpirits of his officers and ſoldiers, and exhorting them to fight valiantly.

The battle was begun by the horſemen of the French, which were appointed to ride into the main body of the archers, and put them into diſorder; but as ſoon as they entered the narrow path, the archers arranged behind the hedge, let fly whole ſhowers of their long arrows, which ſo wounded and galled the horſes, that they broke out from all order, and threw their riders, trampling over them, and beating down each other; ſo that none of the ſoldiers could reach the army of the prince to do him any hurt: then lord Audley, who with his knights ſtood in the front, taking the advantage of this confuſion, ruſhed in amongſt them, making a horrid carnage, and at length quite diſordered the firſt battle, led by the marſhall of France. The Engliſh men of arms ſeeng this diſorder, and obſerving that thoſe on the hill had made the ſecond battle of the French, led by the duke of Normandy, give back, they mounted their horſes, and rode upon them with ſuch good order and irreſiſtable force, that they bore down all before them, crying out aloud, St. George! St. George! The prince himſelf riding continually up and down with his banner before him, to ſuccour his people whereſoever need ſhould be of his preſence: then by the advice of lord Chandois, (ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the two firſt battles) he with his men of arms and valiant ſoldiers, bore down full on the third battle, led by the king of France himſelf, which alſo, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, was put to flight, and the king was taken priſoner.

Grafton, Hollingſhead, Stow, &c.

King Henry the Fifth at the battle of Agincourt, having choſen a convenient ſpot to martial his men; ſent privately two hundred archers into a low medow which lay on one ſide of his army, where they were ſo well ſecured by a deep ditch, and marſh, that the enemie could not come near them: then he divided the foot into three ſquadrons, or battles; the *a warde*, compoſed entirely of archers; the *middle warde*, of bill-men only; and the *rere-ward*, of bill-men and archers mixed together; the horſemen as wings went on every ſide of the battle.

Stratagems, &c. whereby the enemy were annoyed.

Nic. Trivet.

The Welch in the reign of Edward the Firſt, (as we have ſeen already) got themſelves cloſe together, having long ſpears planted in the earth, which they pointed to the enemy, to ſecure themſelves from being trodden down by their cavalry.

cavalry. This invention Henry the Fifth improved at the battle of Agincourt, for he cauſed to be made ſtakes of wood, about five or ſix foot long, headed with ſharp iron; theſe were faſtened in the ground, and the archers ſo placed before them, that they were entirely hid from the ſight of the enemy; who, well mounted on ſtrong horſes, came on with the utmoſt impetuoſity, to run down and diſorder the archers; but when the horſemen were ſo near them, as to render it impoſſible for them to ſtop their horſes, the archers ſhrunk at once behind the ſtakes, and the Frenchmen rode full upon them; ſo goreing the horſes, and overthrowing their riders in ſuch dreadful confuſion, that the foot men, who were to ſupport the encounter feared to follow. Then the Engliſh archers layed aſide their bowes, and took axes, bills, glaves, and ſwords, and ſlue the Frenchmen till they came to the middle-warde: "This device," ſays Hall, "of fortefiyng of an armie with ſtakes, was at this tyme firſt deviſed and practiſed, but ſince that tyme they have debyſed, caltroppes, harrowes, and other new trickes."

Vide Graft. Hollingſ. Stow, &c.

Hall's Union, p. 49.

The Scots put in practice another method of defeating the cavalry, for they, ſays Stow, (ſpeaking of the battle of Shrivelin, in the ſixth year of Edward the Second) having gotten the moſt convenient place in the field for victory, made ditches in the ground three foote deepe, and the like in bredth, from the right wing of the armie, unto the left, covering the ſame with weake twigs, or herdles, and againe over with turfe and graſſe, which was not able to beare horſemen: and this ſtratagem had the deſired effect, for the Engliſh horſe comming furiouſly down upon the Scotts, broke in the ſlight covering, and were totally overthrown in the ditches.

Stow's Chron. pag. 216.

King Henry the Fourth, at the battle fought at Shrewſbury, againſt Henry Percy, and the Scottiſh earle Dowglaſs, cauſed Sir Walter Blunt, and four others to be apparelled in his ſuit, and arms, with banners like his own, born before them; (for he well knew that his perſon would in chief be aimed at) and this ſeems to have been a lucky ſtratagem, for Sir Walter Blunt, and three more of the others were ſlain by Dowglaſs, who, ſays Grafton, cried out, "I marvell to ſee ſo many kings to ariſe ſo ſodainely!"

Grafton p. 425.

Wherein the Engliſh had the Advantage over the Enemy.

The Engliſh had the advantage over the enemy in former days, chiefly by their archers, and light armed troops: archers, ſlingers, darters, &c. are particularly uſeful in eight grand points.

Firſt, To begin the fight.

Secondly, To provoke the enemy, to harraſs and draw him from his advantageous poſt.

Thirdly, To wound the enemy at a diſtance.

Fourthly, to diſorder the enemy as he makes his approach.

Fifthly, To gaul the horſes.

Sixthly, To cope with, and hinder efforts of the light armed troops of their antagoniſts:

Seventhly, To ſcout, and diſcover ambuſhes, as well as to lie in ambuſh themſelves.

And Eighthly, In making ſpeedy, and ſudden attempts in time of battle.

How

How much praiſed (and how deſervedly) our own light troops, and archers in particular, have been; the various chronicles of every neighbouring nation, as well as thoſe of our own, will plainly ſet forth. It will be needleſs, perhaps, alſo to ſay, that every battle almoſt ſince the Conqueſt, to the end of this æra, was chiefly won by the bravery and good ſervice of the archers, ſlingers, &c. Their performances at the famous battles of Creſſy, where they overcame the Genoeſe croſs-bowmen; at Poictiers where they routed the cavalry of the French; and at Agincourt, where from the meddow they diſordered the well-ſet battles of the French, are facts ſo notoriouſly known, that they need no further be inſiſted upon in this place: but I will conclude this ſubject, with the words of a very learned and ingenious man, who perfectly well underſtood the uſe of the bow, and is conſequently much better able than myſelf to ſupport the argument. "I may not" (ſays he) "pretermitte the praiſe of our nation in this ſkill. Our own ſtories teſtify, that the great battailes, we gayned againſt the French, were gayned by the joint-ſhooting of our archers principally. And that the Engliſh have heretofore excelled in archery and ſhooting, is cleere by the teſtimony even of ſtrangers. *Cicuta* commending the uſe of bows, as neceſſary for the ſervice of the field, (and that long after guns were invented) prefereth the Engliſh before all other, and ſetteth them downe, as a patterne for others to follow. And *Patritius*, diſputing of the violence of arrows, doubteth not to affirme, *that an Engliſh arrowe with a litle waxe put upon the point of the head, wil paſſe through any ordinary corſlette or curace.*" And afterwards adds, "all the wonders done by the Parthian bowes, were notwithſtanding not to be compared to our auncient Engliſh bowes, either for ſtrength, or for ſhooting." Then in a very learned manner, he draws a compariſon between the uſe of bowes, as formerly practiced, and of guns, as uſed at the time in which he wrote, (which was in the reign of king James the Firſt) wherein he proves that archery ought not to be neglected, and that in many points it exceeded even the muſket. "Surely (ſays he) it may not be denied, that the force of fire weapons of our time, doth farre exceed the height of all old inventions, for annoying the enemy. And when I have given them the firſt place, I will not doubt to give the ſecond to bowes and arrowes: being ſo far from caſting them of, that I would rather follow the wiſdom of the Græcians; who albeit they eſteemed arrowes the beſt flieng weapons, yet thought it not amiſſe to hold in uſe ſlings and dartes; for every weapon hath its property; and that which is fitt for one ſervice, is not ſo fitt for another." And after he continues thus: "Nowe then for us to leave the *bowe* being a weapon of ſo great efficacy, ſo ready, ſo familiar, and as it were ſo domeſticall to our nation, to which wee were wont to bee accuſtomed from our cradle, becauſe other nations take themſelves to the *muſket*, hath not ſo much as any ſhewe of reaſon. Other nations may well forbeare that they never had: neither Italian nor Spaniard, nor Frenche nor Dutche, have theſe five hundred years been accounted *archers*; it was a ſkill almoſt appropriated to our nation: by it we gained the battailes of Creſſy, of Poictiers, of Agincourt, in France, of Navarre in Spaine; by it we made ourſelves famous over Chriſtendome. And to give it over upon a conceit only (for no experience can ſay that our *bowe* was ever beaten out of the field by the *muſket*) will prove an imitation of Æſop's dogge, whoe carrieng a piece of fleſhe in his mouth over a river, and ſeing the ſhadewe in the water, ſnatched at the ſhadowe, and

John Bingham's notes upon the Tacticks of Ælian, pag. 25 and 6.

Aurel Cicuta de Diſcip. Mili. lib. 2, fol. 206. Patrit. Paral parte ſecunda, lib. 3. fol. 37.

leſt the fleſhe. I ſpeake not this to abaſe the ſervice of *muſkets*, which all men muſt acknowledge to be great; I only ſhewe, there may bee good uſe of *bowes*, if our archers were ſuch as they were wont: which is not to bee diſpaired, and will eaſily come with exerciſe."

We are yet further to underſtand, that the archers were not only uſeful with their bows, but fought alſo with other weapons: an extraordinary inſtance is given us by Hollingſhead, at the battle of *Aulroy*, the 38th year of Edward the Third; "The Frenchmen (ſays he) after the manner of that age, every man hadde cutte his ſpeare (as then they uſed, at what time they ſhould join battaile) to the lengthe of five foote, and a ſhort axe hanging at his ſide: at the firſte encounter, there was a ſore battaile, and truelie the archers ihotte right fiercelie, howbeit their ſhotte did but little hurte to the Frenchemenne, they were ſo well armed and paveſhed: the archers perceiving that (being bigge men and light) caſt away their bowes and entred in amongſt the Frenchemenne that bare axes, and plucked them out of their handes, and therewith fought right hardly." At the battle of Agincourt, as has already been mentioned, the archers laid their bows down, and "took axes, bills, and glaves, and ſlue the Frenchmen, till they came to the middle ward:" and at the ſkirmiſh, in which lord Talbot was taken, (the ſeventh year of the reign of Henry the Sixth) Grafton informs us that divers archers of the Engliſh, which had ſhot all their arrows, having only their ſwords, defended themſelves, and with the helpe of ſome of their horſemen, got themſelves ſafe to *Meum*.

Holl. Chron. p. 970.

Graft. 536. Vide page 38 of this vol.

The next thing to which our anceſtors owed their victories, was the courage and bravery of their leaders, who were generally men trained up to the wars from their youth; for the rough ſoldier in thoſe days was more beloved and regarded, than the polite and poliſhed courtier.

Our noble hero, Edward the Firſt, at a tournament, (or rather battle) coped with the earl of *Chabloun*, who was eſteemed a ſtout and valiant warriour: after ſome ſtrokes had paſſed, the earl caſt his arms around the king's neck, intending by the weight of his body (for he was a man of very large ſtature) to have dragged the king from his horſe; but he keeping himſelf upright upon his ſaddle, and ſetting his ſpurs to his horſe's ſides, carried the earl from his ſaddle, and by main force ſhaked him from him to the ground; and he coming to regain his honour, and revenge his diſgrace, turned (ſays Walſingham) a ſportive play into a tumultuous battle; but he and his met with ſuch a reception from the king and his party, that he was glad to retreat.

Walſingham, in vit. Edwardi prim. fol. 3.

And our hiſtorians tell us that Richard *Cœur de Lion*, in his wars abroad, ſtood upon the draw-bridge of a city, and with his battle ax,

"The chyne in two dede hew."

Vide the Chron of Rob. de Brunne.

and again, ſays an old chronicler, ſpeaking of the acts of the above prince,

Ther armour ferde as yt wer waxe,
Agenſte Kyng Richarde ys axe;
The Sarazynes, as y now telle,
Wende he were a fende of Helle.

MS. Harlean Lib. No. 4690.

Vide Speed, p. 688.

King Edward the Third, when he was in France, being to paſs the river *Somr*, at a ford called *Blaunch Tacque*, his ſoldiers ſeeming rather backward, he entered the river firſt, calling out to his followers, "He that loves me, let him follow me;" as tho' he had reſolved either to conquer, or to die in the attempt: and both this king and his ſon, prince Edward, were always foremoſt in danger, haſtening to ſuccour and relieve their ſoldiers, whereſoever they might be oppreſſed by the enemy; and exhorting them to think of their own honour, and follow the glorious example, which they themſelves (their leaders) were always the firſt to ſet them. What a nervous energetic ſpeech, was that of the Black Prince, to his officers and ſoldiers, before the battle of Poictiers:—*My good lords and friends,* (ſays he) *tho' the number of our army is but ſmall, compared with the great forces of the king our enemy, yet let us not deſpair: the victory falls not always with the greateſt numbers, but there where it pleaſes Almighty God to ſend it. If the glory of this day ſhould be ours, the whole world will honour us, and if we fall, we fall glorioufly! and my lord the king, my father, my brothers, and your good friends, will amply revenge our fall: therefore I beg you all, that you would all exert the utmoſt of your valour this day; and for my own part, I promiſe you, if it pleaſe God and Saint George, I will act the part of a good and valiant knight.* Surely here is the true fire of a noble ſoldier, in this ſhort oration! and how well was it calculated (together with his brave example) to inſpire his ſoldiers with the love of glory! and ſhall we here paſs over unnoticed, that great and valiant hero, Henry the Fifth? a glorious prince, and a brave and noble ſoldier. In ſhort, where ſhall the annals of any nation be found, that can boaſt a more numerous ſeries of great and valiant men, than our own hiſtories? Take the true picture of a ſoldier, from the induſtrious Stow,—"A monk coming to the duke of Clarence, (to implore him to ſave the monaſtery of St. Stephen's at Cane) in the dead of night, found him lying in compleate harneſſe, in a garden upon the graſſe, with his head upon a ſtone." How would ſuch a pillow ſute the ſoftneſs of the preſent age? But now we will conclude this ſubject, with a paſſage from Hall's union, ſpeaking of the two armies preparing for the battle of Boſworth field, in which king Richard the Third was ſlain; One armie (ſays he) eſpyed the other, lord howe haſtely the ſoldioures buckled their helmes, how quickly the archers bent ther bowes and fruſhed theire feathers, how readily the byllmen ſhoke theire bylles and proved theire ſtaves, redy to ſoyne when the terrible trompet ſhould ſwonde the bluddy blaſt to bidozie or deathe.

MS Froiſſart, v. 2, fueil. 23.

See all the Chronicles.

Stow's Chron. pag. 354.

Hall's Union, p. 351.

Warlike Habits, &c.

Vide Speed, 779.

The kings went royally habited to the wars, with their ſtandards borne before them: thus the Chronicles report of Henry the Fifth, that at Agincourt he rode in the main battle compleatly armed; his ſhield quartered with the royal atchievements of England and France: upon his helmet he wore a coronet, circled with pearls and pretious ſtones of ineſtimable price *: his horſe of fierce courage,

* And after the victory (ſay the Chronicles) he would not ſuffer his helmet, cut and bruiſed with the heavy blows he ſuſtained in the battle, to be ſhewn to the people, but ordered all his men to give the glory to God alone. Stow's Chron. p. 351.

courage, prancing as he went; the bridle and furniture was of gold-ſmith's work, and the capariſons were moſt richly embroidered, with the victorious enſigns of the Engliſh monarchy: before him was borne the royal ſtandard, which was ornamented with gold and glorious colours, with many other banners in warlike order waveing in the wind.

Edward the Third, at the battle of Creſſy, wore a chaplet of pearls upon his helmet. A crown, or ſome ſuch diſtinguiſhable mark, being always worn by the kings in battle; ſo that when Maudlin was ſet up to counterfeit Richard the Second, he had a crown put upon his helmet, that the people might be deceived, and take him for the king. Froiſſart MS. vol. 1. Stow 351. Ibid 325.

The lords often carried their ſoldiers to the wars, all armed in the ſame livery or arms, which were the badges of their Lords. See the ſoldiers of the earl of Warwick, plates 31 and 32 of this volume, who wear the ragged ſtaff on their armour, which was his badge.

The Arms, &c. of the Engliſh.

The ordinance for arms, in the time of Edward the Firſt, as in an old MS. of that age in my own poſſeſſion, runs thus, Comaunde per le rey, que chekun homme eyt en ſa meſoun pouꝛ ſe armur, pour la pes garder, ſelon le auncien aſſiſe; ces eſt aſavour, que chekune homme entre 15 auns et 60. ſeyent aſſis et jurez, as armes ſelon la quantite de lur tezes, et de leur chateus; ces eſt aſavour, à 15 libeꝛs de teꝛe, & de chateus de 40 marc, Habergeun, chapel de fer, eſpeye, cotel, et chyval; & 10 liberes de tere, & chateus de 20 marc, Habergeun, chapel, eſpeye, et cotel; & cent ſoudes de tere, Purpoynt, chapel, eſpeye, cotel,; & 40 ſoudes de teꝛe, et de plus dekes a cent ſoudes des teꝛes, eſpeye, ark, cotel, et fetes; e qui ad meyns des chateus de 40 ſoudes, ſeyt iuꝛe as, faus, gyfarmes, coteaux, & autres menus aꝛmes; & tous les autres qui pobut, ave ark, et ſetes hors de foreſte; et en foꝛeſte, ark & piles. *It is commanded by the king, that every man ſhould have in his houſe, arms, to arm himſelf with, for the keeping of the king's peace, according to the antient ſtatues: that is to ſay, every man from the age of* 15 *to* 60, *ſhould be ſworn to have arms according to the quantity of land, and value of the chattles that he ſhould poſſeſs; every man who had ſifteen pounds in land, and chattles to the amount of* 40 *marks, ſhould provide for his uſe, an* harbergeon, *an* iron helmet, *a* ſword, *and a* dagger, *and a* horſe; *every man having* 10 *pounds in land and* 20 *marks in chattles, an* harbergeon, helmet, ſword, *and* dagger; *and all having* 100 *ſhillings* † *in land, a* purpoint, helmet, ſword, *and* dagger; *and very one poſſeſſing from under* 100 *ſhillings, to* 40, *ſhall have a* ſword, a bow, a dagger, and a lance; *and all that poſſeſs chattles to the amount of* 40 *pence, ſhall have* bills, giſarms, daggers, *and other commoner arms: and all others who could ſhould have* bows and arrows, *living without the foreſt; and all living within the foreſt, ſhould have* a bow, and piles. It was alſo further ordered, that conſtables, and proper officers, ſhould make ſearch in every houſe, to ſee that the armes were kept in due order, and ready for ſervice; and theſe officers made their report accordingly, to the juſtices who were ordained for that purpoſe.

Edward

† I think *ſoudes* ſhould be tranſlated ſhillings, and not pence, from the latin word *ſolidus*; and herein I am confirmed by a book entitled Magna Carta, printed by Petyt, in the year 1543.

Edward the Second, made, (ſays an old Chronicle) every towne of England finde a manne of armes, on her owne coſtage, in his werres agenſte the Scottes, wherefor he wente into Scottelond with 100,000 menne of armes, at Witteſontide, A. D. 1322: and, ſays the ſame author, when this king was fearful of his queen and ſon, who were raiſing forces againſt him; he ordennedde in every hundredde, and every wapentake of England, tryouys of men of armes, and fotemen, which weren put in diverſe ſommes, as ſom man was a Keeper of 20, and ſom men of 100, and he alſo commandede alle theſe to bee in reddineſſe, at the leaſte talle or ſignal, to iſshue forthe *.

Ibid. M S.

The chief offenſive Arms of the ENGLISH, were as follows:

The *long lances*, and *tilting lances*; the ſtaves were moſtly made of Oak.
The *darts*, which the Paviſſers uſed.
Glaves.
Bills.
Axes.—One ſort of theſe axes had three ſpikes ſet on the edge; this weapon ſeems to be entirely appropriated to the leaders and chief men; we ſee in plate 44, of this volume, the king conſtituting the earl of Warwick govenor and general, by giving him this ax.—
The *bipennis*.
The *Sword*.
The *Dagger*.
The *long bow*.
The *croſs bow*.
The *hand gun*, this inſtrument originally was without any cock: I take that to be the hand gun, which the ſoldier plate 4, fig 1, bears upon his ſhoulder; the original of this figure is as early as the beginning of the reign of Henry the Sixth.
Quarrels for the *croſs bows*.
And *barbed arrows*, for the *long bows*; which were as we have heard already full one yard in length.

How far the archers with the *long bow*, could ſend an *arrow*, is not certain; but with the *croſs bow*, they would ſhoot *forty rod*, for in the Dunſtable Chronicle, we are told, that Henry the Fifth "came near to the city of Roan, by 40 rodes of lengthe, within ſhotte of quarrell."

Brute of England M. S. in Bib. Hail. No. 24.

When the king was preſent in the field, the royal ſtandard was diſplayed.—The lords, and barons, and bannerets, had banners with their arms; and the knight batchelor diſplayed his ſtreamer or penon.

Their *tents* were much upon the ſame principle throughout the whole æra; plate 4, fig. 22, of this volume, is a tent, during the reign of king Richard the Second; and thoſe fig. 21, of the ſame plate, are as old as the reign of Henry the Sixth; and ſee ſeveral alſo of the following reigns, in the various plates given in this volume.

In

* For the better preſervation of the peace in the realm, and to give an immediate alarm, beacons were made and placed in the high places about the kingdom; theſe, ſays Lambard, before the time of Edward the Third, were made of great ſtacks of wood; but about the eleventh year of his reign, it was ordeined, that in our ſhire (Kent) they ſhould be high ſtandards with pitch pots. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, page 69.

In an old M S. chronicle is a balade, made on the victory gained by Edward the Third, over the Scots at Hallidowne hill, in which are theſe lines, that ſpeak of the warlike inſtruments of muſic then in uſe. M S. Chronicle in the Harl. Lib. No. 4690.

This was do with mezy ſowne,
With pipes Tzompes and Tabers therto,
And loude clazionnes thei blew alſo.

And in the proſe account of the battle,—then the Engliche mynſtzelles beten ther tabezs, and blewen the.r Tzompes, and pipezs pipedene loude, and made a gzete ſchowte upon the Skottes.— Ibid. fol. 79.

It is extraordinary enough that king Edward, ſhould perſue Robert Bruce, as Harding expreſſes it, with *horns* and *hounds*, it runs thus:

The King Edwazd with Hozns and Houndes him fought,
With men on fote, thzough mazcis moſſe and myze,
Thzough Woodes alſo and mounteines wheze they fought.

Stow, has added drums to the above inſtruments, which he places in the reign of Henry the Fourth and Fifth. Harding's Chronicle Chap. 168. page 169.

Religious, and Domeſtic Buildings.

To enter into a particular deſcription of the religious buildings of the Engliſh, would be ſwelling out this work to very little purpoſe; ſince there are ſo many better evidences yet remaining: I mean the various ſtately, and beautiful edifices, as churches, chapples, and the venerable ruins of the antient abbies. Some of theſe muſt fall under the inſpection of moſt of my readers: therefore the idea by them conveyed will be much more clear and perfect, than the moſt elaborate deſcription; beſides the impoſſibility of giving any proper deſcription; for of all the buildings mentioned, it is rare indeed to meet with any two alike: my purpoſe is not to dwell upon things already known, but to explain and illuſtrate ſuch things, as either through negligence or wilfulneſs have been forgot or miſ-underſtood.

In the early part of this æra, they built with rubble ſtone and cement; which was either faced with ſquare free ſtone, or elſe with flint curiouſly hewn out, placed with great exactneſs, much in the ſame manner with thoſe deſcribed before in the Norman Æra; the Gothic ſtile of building almoſt univerſally prevailed, of which more is ſaid in the firſt chapter of this volume.

The domeſtic buildings through the various reigns of this Æra, were ſo numerous, and ſo different, that only general matters can be ſpecified: the houſes of the knights, and rich gentlemen were large and capacious: the lords and barons, had ſtately manſions of ſtone: the common run of houſes (eſpecially among the midling ſort of people) were built with wood; they generally made large porches before the principal entrances, with great halls, and large parlours; the frame work was conſtructed with beams of timber, of ſuch enormous ſize, that the materials of one houſe as they built antiently would make ſeveral of equal ſize, according to the preſent mode of building: the common method of makng walls was to nail laths to the timber frame, and ſtrike them Hollingſ. deſcrip. Brit.

over

over with a rough plaiſter, which was afterwards whitened, and ornamented with fine mortar, and this laſt was often beautified with figures, and other curious devices. In plate 4 of this volume, fig. 19, we ſee the plaiſterer at work; the whole of the building is done over with the rough caſt, while he with the trowel is laying on the finer white mortar: figure 18, exhibits an engine for drawing up the materials from below, to the ſcaffold: and fig. 20, exhibits the maſon ſquaring a ſtone with a hatchet; ſome had houſes built with bricks, but theſe were of a much more modern date.

The houſes in the cities and towns, were certainly built, each ſtory jetting forth over the former ſtory, ſo that where the ſtreets were not very wide, the people at the top, from oppoſite houſes might not only talk, and converſe with each other, but even ſhake hands together; their houſes were covered with tiles, ſhingles, ſlates, or lead; except in the city of London, where the uſe of ſhingles were forbid; for the magiſtrates were obliged (ſays an old book, entitled the Chronicle of London) to enquyre yf ther be ony Houſe in the Warde, that is hylled without other thyng than tyle; or flat, or lede, for parell of fyre: and further "yf there be ony chement that hath a reeydos made uncomly other wyſe than it ought to bee; for parell of fyre." alſo "if ony Baker, or Brewar, hete ther ovenis or other fuyeyſe (for furnace) wyth ſtrawe, or reyde, or ony other thinge, that might cauſe parell of fyre." alſo "every Warde muſt have a racke, with two longe cheynes of yrne (Iron) and two ladders redy for parell of fyre." alſo "every Houſe muſt have a Tubbe with Water, redy for parell of fyre." And in the ſcavengers oath, was that they ſhould examine "that all the chemys, redoflys, and funneſſys be made of Stone, for deſent of fyre." All theſe judicious precautions were moſt ſtrictly neceſſary; for the houſes were all built of timber; and beſides, entirely unprovided as they were with engines for throwing water, that in caſe of fire the conflagration muſt have been great and extenſive.

Chronicle of London.

Caxton Add. to Polychronicon, lib 8, chap. 23, fol. 417.

"In Candlemas daye 1444, (ſays Caxton) Paulus ſteple was ſette a fyre by lyghtynge, on the myddes of the ſhafte, in the tymbre, whiche was quenchyd by force & labour, and ſpecially by the labour of the moſowe maſſe prieſte of the Bowe in Cheepe, which was thought impoſſyble, ſauf only the grace of God." It was quenched (ſays Stow) with vinegar.

Stow's Survey, p. 358. Stow's Chron 473.

It ſeems they had no notion of paving the ſtreets of their cities and towns, for Stow tells, us that the citizens of London, in the 3d year of Henry the Seventh, cauſed their ſtreets to be new gravelled, becauſe the king and queen were to make their public entry through the city. Neither were there any lamps put up on dark winter nights, for, ſays Stow, (ſpeaking of the ſteeple of Bow church, Cheapſide, which was finiſhed with arches and lanthorns, An. 1512) "It appeareth, that the lanthornes on the top of this ſteeple, were meant to have been glaſed, and lights in them placed nightly in the winter, whereby travellers to the city might have the better ſight thereof, and not miſſe of their ways."

Stow's Survey, page 269.

Ibid. p. 84.

There were watchmen who patrolled the ſtreets of London, and a ſtanding watch, well armed. "Then (ſays Stow) had ye beſides the ſtanding watches, all in brighte harneſſe, in every ward and ſtreet of this city and ſuburbs, and a marching watch that paſſed through the principall ſtreets."

And here it may not be amiſs to ſpeak of a ſubject that hitherto ſeems to have been quite neglected, that is, the bridges uſed in antient times by our anceſtors. It doth not appear that any ſtone bridges were ever made in England before the year 1118, when Matilda, queen to Henry the Firſt, "cauſed (ſays Stow) two ſtone bridges to be builded in a place one mile diſtant from the old foord, of the which one was ſituated over Lee, at the head of the towne of Stratford, now called

called *Bow*, becauſe the bridge was arched like unto a *bow*; a rare piece of worke, for before this time the like had never beene ſeene in England: the other bridge was over the little brooke, commonly called *Chanelſbridge*; and before this time (continues the ſame author) all the great bridges of this realm were made of timber; as was the bridge of London, even in the year 1136, the firſt year of the reign of Stephen, when it was burnt down, and was again rebuilt with new timber in the year 1163: and in the year 1176, was begun a bridge of ſtone, which was full three and thirty years before it was compleatly finiſhed. From this time ſtone bridges became very common; and in the latter ages they built bridges (even of ſeveral arches) with bricks. Stow's Chron. 139. Stow's Survey, page. 7 & 8.

At the ſieges of caſtles or cities, or to convey an army over any dangerous waters, temporary bridges were made of boats and barges faſtened together, and planks of wood laid over them; as in the old Chronicle of Peter Langtoff, improved by Robert de Brunne, we are told, that Edward the Firſt did at Snowdoun.

Botes he toke and barges the ſides togideꝛe knytte
Ouer the watex that laꝛge is, fꝛo bank to bank rought itte,
Thei ſtekeꝺ them oueꝛthuꝛꝛt, ſuſſly foꝛ to ligge,
Ouer the watex ſmeꝛte, was ſo oꝛdeynꝺ a bꝛigge. R. de Brunne page 241.

This bridge ſays Hollingſhead, "conteined roomth for ſixty armed men to paſs afront." And, ſays Stow, "when king Henry the Fifth came before *Melun*, which town was ſituated on an iſland, between two arms of the ſea, ſo that there was no coming at it by land, but by the bridge; and by water no veſſels could come, becauſe the bed of the river was ſo thick ſet with ſtrong piles: beſides this, the town was defended with ſtrong high walls, and well furniſhed with men, and ammunition and proviſion. Then the king, when he had well conſidered the ſtrength of the place, cauſed his ſmaller veſſels to approach, and clear the river of the piles, which was at laſt with infinite labour performed; then he faſtened all thoſe veſſels together with ſtrong chains of iron, (making a firm and ſubſtantial bridge) and built thereon ſtrong towers of wood to aſſault the town; but when thoſe within ſaw all theſe preparations, they capitulated, and the town was yielded up." Stow's Chron. page 359.

Grafton tells us, that the French men, in the eleventh year of Henry the Sixth, "departed from the fort under the Yeore, over a bridge which they had made of tonnes." Graft. 556.

State of Government, &c, of the ENGLISH.

The government of this kingdom by a royal ſovereign, hath been as ancient as hiſtory is, or the memorial of any time. The *ſoveraigntie* before the reign of Henry the Third, had a very full power. Rex habet proteſtatem et juriſdictionem ſuper omnes qui in regno ſuo ſunt; ea quæ ſunt juriſdictionis & pacis ad nullum pertinent niſi ad regiam dignitatem; habet etiam coercionem, ut delinquentes puniat et coerceat. And again, Omnes ſub rege, et ipſe ſub nullo niſi tantum Deo; non eſt inferior ſibi ſubjectis, non parem habet in regno ſuo. And Vide Jenkins, p. 1. Bracton temp H 3. lib 4. cap. 24, ſect. 1. Ibid. Brac, ſect. 5. Ibid. lib. 3, cap. 7.

And ſurther, Rex non habet ſuperiorem niſi Deum ; ſatis habet ad pænam quod Deum expectat ultorem. All which evidently prove the great extent of the ſupreme power which was inveſted in the kings ; and that as Camden has it, the king is the moſt excellent part of the commonwealth, next unto God ; he is under no vaſſalage ; he takes his inveſtiture from no man ; he acknowledges no ſuperior but God alone.

Camden's Brit. fol. 109

The law of the land hath three grounds ; firſt, *cuſtom* ; ſecondly, *judicial records* ; and thirdly, *acts* of *parliament*. The two latter are but declarations of the *common law* and *cuſtom* of the realm, touching *royal government* ; and this, law of *royal government*, is a *law fundamental*. From William the Conqueror, till the reign of John, the cuſtoms of the realm touching *royal government*, were never queſtioned, but thoſe kings enjoyed them in a full meaſure : But in John's time the lords, barons, and Commons, &c. of the realm, conceiving that the ancient cuſtoms and rights were violated, preſſed the king to ſign the charters of their liberties, which were afterwards confirmed by his ſon king Henry the Third, and are called *Magna Charta* et *Charta de Foreſta*.

Jenkins, p. 2.

The king of England hath his title to the crown, and to his kingly office and power, not by way of truſt from the two houſes of parliament, or from the people, but by inherent birthright from God, Nature, and the Law.

There was never any king depoſed but in tumultuous times, by the power of armies, led on by thoſe who were to ſucceed them ; therefore all depoſers were traitors, as appears by the reſolution of all the judges of England. And uſurpers that come in by the conſent of the people, are kings *de facto* but not *de jure*, as appears by the acts of parliament declaring them ſo and by all our books of law, and the fundamental conſtitution of the land ; regal power is hereditary, and not elective : and to affirm the king's power is ſeparable from his perſon, is high treaſon.

Coke tit. Treaſon.

Jenkins, p. 56.

Jenkins. page 74.

The diviſion of honourable dignities were antiently only eleven, till the addition of the knight baronets made twelve.

Firſt the king, ſecondly the prince, thirdly the duke, fourthly the earl, fifthly viſcount, ſixthly the marquis, ſeventhly the baron ; and theſe ſeven were called princely, and allowed to wear coronets. The other five were only noble, as firſt the knight baronet, ſecondly the knight banneret, thirdly the knight batchelor, fourthly the eſquire, and fifthly the gentleman.

The king, when he received any foreign ambaſſy, or gave public audience, was ſeated under his rich canopy of ſtate, upon a ſplendid throne, above the reſt of the attendant lords, who were ranged according to their ranks and degrees on either ſide ; when they went to their parliaments they were royally habited : thus ſays Hollingſhead, in the eleventh year of the reign of king Richard the Second, the king, when the lords were aſſembled in the great hall at Weſtminſter, " apparelled himſelfe in his kingly robes, and with his ſcepter in his hand came in unto them ;" and ſays Grafton, Henry the Sixth, though yet an infant, was brought (to the parliament houſe) through the city of London, upon a ſtately courſer, with great triumph.

Hollingſhead, p. 1065. Grafton's chron. page 643.

On ſaints days, they often ſhewed themſelves with great ſplendour, going to church in ſolemn proceſſion, or elſe they rode through the city, where they might at that time keep their court ; thus ſays Grafton, " king Richard the Third appeared at York in habite royall, with *his* ſcepter in *his* hande, and diademe on his head, and made proclamation, that all perſons ſhould reſort to

Ibid. p. 807.

York

York on the day of the aſſention of oure lorde, where all men ſhoulde both beholde him and his queene, and prince, in their high eſtates and degrees, and alſo for their good wylles, ſhould receyve many thankes. At the daye appointed, the whole clergie aſſembled in copes richelye reveſted, and ſo with a reverent ceremonie went about the citie in proceſſion; after whome followed the king with his crowne and ſcepter, appareled in his circote robe royall, accompanied with no ſmall number of the nobilitie of hys realme: after whome marched the queene Anne hys wyfe, lykewiſe crowned, leading on her left hande prince Edwarde her ſonne, having on hys head a demy crowne, appointed for the degree of a prince." And when they thus rode in proceſſion, the ſword of ſtate was borne before them.

How much a grand appearance was affected in this Æra, may be ſeen from the following paſſages.

When Richard the Second met the French king, to confirm his marriage with the young Iſabel, there were erected three rich and ſplendid pavillions; one for the king of England, one for the French king, and the third, which was in the middle, for them both to meet and confer in: and on each ſide from the other two pavillions to the middle one, were placed 400 knights richly armed, with their ſwords drawn in their hands; on the Engliſh ſide the knights were habited in the arms of England, and the French knights on the other ſide, were in the arms of France. Vide Froiſſart, vol. 4. Graſton.

And when Henry the Fifth met the king of France, to conclude the peace, and ſettle his marriage with Catherine, the French king's daughter; there were erected three pavillions, but I will quote the very words of Hall, a faithful and good hiſtorian.—The Frenchmen (ſays he) diched, trenched, & paled their lodgynges, for fear of after-clappes. But the Engliſhmen had their payre only bayed & parted: the Kyng of Englande had a large tent of blewe velvet & grene richely embrodered with two devyſes; the one was an antlop drawing in an hoyle mille; the other was an antlop ſiteyng in an high ſtage with a braunche of olife in his mouthe: and the tente was repleniſhed & decked with this poyſie. After buſie laboure commeth victorious reſte. And on the top and height of the ſame was ſet a greate egle of golde, whoſe iyes wer of ſuch orient diamondes that thei gliſtered and ſhone over the whole feld.

The Frenche Kyng likewiſe had in his payke a faire pavilion of blue velvet richly embroidered with flower deluce, on the toppe of the ſame was ſet a white hayte fliyng, made all of fyne ſilver with wynges enameled. Between theſe two camps or encloſeys was appoynted a tent of purple velvet for the counſailoys to mete in; & every payre had an egall nombre to watche on the night and to ſe good ordre on the daye. Hall's Union of the Houſes of York and Lancaſt. p. 50.

And, ſays the ſame author, when king Edward the Fourth met the French king, "he with foure other, were appareled in clothe of golde fryſed;" And king Edward had on his head, "hys bonet of blacke velvet & a floure delyce of golde, ſet with very ryche orient ſtones." Hall's Union, page 234.

Let us now conclude with ſaying ſomething of public entries, and the grand receptions made by the Londoners to ſeveral of the kings of England.

The Londoners, in order to make their peace with king Richard the Second, (whom they had very much offended) met him at Black Heath, as he and his queen were coming unto Weſtminſter, and entreated him to paſs through London on his way, to which he at laſt conſented. The citizens were in number full 400, all dreſſed in one livery, and well mounted on horſeback. Theſe con-

ducted the king (ſays Fabian) till he came to London bridge, Where (ſays my author) he was preſented wyth two fayre ſtedes, trapped in ryche clothe of golde paytyd of redde and whyte, (one for him, the other for his queen) then rydyng on til he came to the ſtandayde in Chepe, the cytezyns of the cyte ſtandynge upon eyther ſyde of the ſtretes in theyr lyverey, and cryena Kyng Richayde, Kyng Richayde, and at theyr barkes the wyndowys and wallys hanged wyth al ryche tappettes & clothes of arraſſe in moſte goodlye & ſhewyng wyſe. And at the ſayd ſtandayde in Chepe, was ordeyned a ſumptuouſe ſtage, in the whyeh were ſette dyverſ perſonages in ryche apparel, amonge the whych an aungell (angel) was ordeyned, whyche ſet a ryche crowne of golde garnyſshed wyth ſtone & perle uppon the Kynges hede, & another on the queens as they paſſed by."

Fabian's Chron. vol. 2 fol. 147.

The victorious Henry the Fifth, returning from France, the mayor and aldermen (ſays an old Chronicle, written in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Sixth) with a great number of citizens, to the amount of 20,000, rode to welcome him home, and met him at Black Heath, from whence they conducted him to London, where, (continues my author) he was 'riolly receyvet with preceſſion and ſong, (ſtiling him Lord of England! Flower of the World! and Soldier of Chriſt! And when he was come to London brigge, wher as weze two tuzzettes on the drawbrigge, & a gret geaunt (giant) & on the tuzzetts ſtondyng a lyon & a antelope, with many angeles ſyngyng, Bleſſed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord; & ſo he rode forth into London, & the ſtretes weze riolly hanget with rich clothes, & in Cornhylle was made a riol touze full of patazches (patriarchs) ſyngyng, Sing unto the Lord a new ſong, praiſe his name in the Holy Church: & they keſt doun quyk brydes (live birds) which flawe (flew) thikke about the Kyng: & when he came into Chepe the condites ranne wyne, & on the gret condit waze 12 apoſteles ſyngyng, Have mercy on my ſoul, Oh Lord! and 12 Kynges knelyng caſt downe oblays (oblations) welcomet hym home. And the croſs in the Chepe was riolly arrayet like a caſtell, with touzes pight full of baneys, and therein angeles ſyngyng Nobell, Nobell: gybyng beſandes (perhaps for baſons) of golde to the Kynge, & ſo he rode forth to Paules wheze as mette hym 14 biſshopes * [reveſſted & mytezde with ſenſouzs to welcome hym] & al the belles ronge agaynes hym; & theze he alight and went to the hye awter (altar) & theze thei ſong Te Deum Laudamus; & from thenſe he rode forth to his palice at Weſtminſtre."

MS. in the Harleian Library, No. 53.

Fabian has given a long and circumſtantial account of the publick entry into London of the young unfortunate king Henry the Sixth, (the ſon of the above-mentioned noble hero Henry the Fifth.) This entry was made on his return from France, where at Paris he was crowned king of France, according to the ſolemn agreement made between his father and Charles the French king. As the Chronicle of Fabian is now become very ſcarce, I preſent my readers with the account of this grand proceſſion, word for word as I found it.

Whan

* What is encloſed in the parentheſis, is added from the Dunſtable Chronicle.---Here note, that the ſongs in the original are in Latin: I have given the meaning as near as I could in Engliſh.

Whan the kynge was comen to the brydge, there was devyſed a myghty gyaunt ſtandyng wyth a ſwerde drawyn, havyng thys ſpeeche wryten by hym. Fabian's Chronicle, vol. 2, page 186.

All tho' that ben enemyes to the kyng,
I ſhall them clothe with confuſion.
Make hym myghty by vertuous lyving,
His mortall foon to oppreſſe and bere downe,
And hym to encreace as Chriſtes champion,
All miſcheves from hym to abridge
With grace of God at the entry of this brydge.

And whan the kyng was paſſed the fyrſte gate, and was comen to the drawe brydge, there was ordeyned a goodly towre hanged and appayayled with ſylke and clothes of aras, in moſte ryche wyſe, out of whiche ſodaynly appeyred three ladyes rychely cladde in golde and ſylke, with coronettes upon theyr heddes, wherof the fyrſt was named Dame Nature, the ſecond Dame Grace, and the thyrde Dame Fortune, the whiche unto the Kyng had this ſpeche.

We ladies thre all by one conſent,
Thre ghoſtly gyftes hevynly & dyvyne,
To the Sir Kynge, as now we do preſent.
And to thyne hyghnes here we do this tyme,
Utteriy ſhewe and them determyne.
As I grace, fyrſt at thy comynge,
Endowe the with ſcyence and connynge.

And I nature, with ſtrengthe and fayrneſſe,
For to be loved and drad of every wyghte,
And I fortune, proſperyte and rycheſſe,
The to defende and to gyve the myght,
Longe to enjoye and to holde thy trewe ryght,
In vertuous lyfe with honour to procede,
That thy two ceptours thou may well poſſede.

There was alſo in the ſayd towre, 14 vyrgyns, all clothed in whyte, whereof 7 ſtode upon the ryght hande of the ſayd 3 ladyes, & 7 upon the left hande; the 7 upon the ryght hande had bawderykes of ſaphyr colour or blewe; and the other 7 had theyr garmentes powdred with ſterres of gold; than the fyrſt 7 preſented the kynge with the 7 gyftes of the Holy Ghoſt, as ſappyence, intellygence, good counſayll, ſtrengthe, cunnynge, pyte, (piety) and drede of God. And the other 7 gave hym the 7 gyftes of grace, in maner as foloweth.

God the endowe with crowne of glory,
And with the ceptre of clenneſſe and pyte
And with a ſwerde of myghte and victorye
And with a mantell of prudence clad thou be
A ſhylde of fayth for to defend the
An helme of helthe wrought to thyne encreace,
Gyrte with a gyrdyll of love and parfyte peace.

And after they had thus saluted the Kynge, anone they beganne thys roundell wyth an hevenly melodye, and songe as foloweth.

Soverayne Lorde, welcome to your cytye,
Welcome our joye, and our hartes pleasaunce
Welcome our gladnesse welcome our suffysaunce
Welcome welcome, ryghte welcome must ye be
Syngynge before thy royall magestе
We saye with harte withouten varyaunce
Soverayne Lord, now welcome out of France

The mayre and cytesyns with all the comynaltye
Rejoyse your comynge newly out of France,
Wherby this cytie and they relevyd be
Of all theyr sorow and former grevaunce.
Wherefore they saye and synge without grevaunce
Welcome welcome welcome our hartes joye,
Welcome you be unto your owne newe Troye.

Than the Kyng rode forth a softe pase, tyll he came at the entye of Cornhylle, where upon the hylle was ordeyned a tabernacle of curyous worke, in which stood Dame Sapyence, and about her the 7 arts or scyences, liberall as fyrst gramer, logike, rhetoryke, musyke, arithmetyck, geometry, & astronomye, everych of them exercysynge theyr connynge & facultye, and the Lady her selfe hadde thys speche to the Kynge.

Lo I chyefe prynceſſe, dame Sapience
Shewe unto you this sentence of scripture
Kynges that ben most of excellence
By me they reygne, and moste joye endure
For through my helpe and my besy cure,
To encrease theyr glory & theyr high renowne,
They shall of wysdome have full possession.

Than the Kyng passed on tyll he came to the conduyte in Cornhylle, where was set a Pageant made cercle wyse, & in the summet or toppe thereof, was set a chyld of wonderfull beaute, appareyled lyke a Kyng. Upon whose ryght hand satte Lady Mercy, and upon the lefte hande Lady Trouth, and over them stode Dame Clennesse, embrasyng the Kynges trone. Then before the Kynge stode two judges and 8 serjeauntes of the coyfe. And Dame Clennesse had thys speche to the VI Henry the Kynge.

Lo by the sentence of prudent Salomon
Mercy and ryght preservyn every kynge
And I clennesse observed by reason
Kepe his trone from myschyfe and fallynge,
And maketh it stronge with longe abydynge
So I conclude that we ladyes thre,
A kynge preserve in longe prosperite.

And

And Davyd ſayd, the pſalme beryth wytneſſe,
Lorde God thy dome thou to the kynge;
And gyve to hym thy trouth and ryghtwyſneſſe,
The kynges ſonne here on erth lyvynge.
And thus declared he by his wrytynge
That kynges and prynces ſhuld about them drawe
Folke that ben trewe and well lerned in lawe.

After this the Kyng rode forth a quycker paſe tyll he came unto the Conduyt in Chepe, where were ordeyned dyvers wellys, as the Welle of Mercy, the Welle of Grace, and the Welle of Pyte. And at every Welle a Lady ſtandynge, that mynyſtred the Water of every Welle to ſuch as wolde aske it, and that Water was turned into good Wyne.

About theſe Welles were ſet dyvers trees wyth flouryſhynge leves and fruytes, as orenges, almandes, pomegarnardes, olyves, lymones, dates, peppys, quynces, blaundererelles, peches, and other more comon fruytes, as coſterides, wardens, pomewardens, rycardons, damyſyns, and plummes, wyth other fruytes longe to rehers, the which were ſo cunnunly wrought, that to many they appered naturall trees growynge.

In the bordour of this delicious place whych was named Paradyſe, ſtode two forgrowen Faders, reſemblynge Enocke and Hely, the whych had thys ſayenge to the Kynge.

Ennok fyrſte with a benygne chere,
Prayed God to upholde his proſperite;
And that none enemyes have of the power
Nor that no chylde of falſe iniquitye,
Have power to perturbe thy felycyte.
This olde Ennok to proceſſe can well tell
Prayed for the kynge as he rode by the welle.

After Helias with his lokkys hore,
Sayde well devoutely lokynge on the kynge,
God conſerve the and kepe evermore,
And make the blyſſed here on erth lyvynge
And preſerve the in all maner thynge,
And ſpecyall amonge kynges all,
In enemyes handes that thou never fall.

And that ſpeche fynyſhed, the Kynge rode forthe a lytell forther; and there was ordeyned a Tower garnyſhed wyth the Armys of Englande and of Fraunce. Thys Tower was wonderfull to beholde, for there was ſhewed in order the tytle wyche the Kynge hadde unto the Crowne of Fraunce. And upryght by thys Tower ſtode two grene Trees, artifycyally with grene levys garnyſhed and wrought, that one berynge the genelogy of Saynte Edward, and that other of Saynte Lewys, and garnyſhed with Leopardes and Flourdelyces. And over theſe two aforeſayd Trees was ordeyned the thyrde, whych was made the forthe ſpryng of Jeſſe, wherein was ſhewed the genelogy

of

of our bleſſed Lady, ſette out in moſt curyous wyſe,; and upon the front of thys Tower was wryten theſe vezſes followynge.

By theſe two trees which here grow upright,
From St. Edwarde & alſo Sent Lowys;
The rote I take, palpable to eche ſyght,
Conveyed by lyne from kynges of great pryce
Which ſome bare leopardes, & ſom flourdelyce,
Armys excellent of honour have no lacke,
Which the VI. Henry may now bere on his backe.

As in degree of jùſt ſucceſſiowne,
As olde cronicles truely determine;
Unto this kyng is now deſcended downe,
From eyther partye right as any lyne,
Upon whoſe hede now freſhely doth ſhyne
Two ryche crownes moche ſoveraygn & pleaſaunce
To bring in peas betwene Englande & Fraunce.

Than from thys the Kynge paſſed on tyll he came at the Conduyt at Paulys Gate; whezе was pyghte a celeſtyal Trone, & thezein was ſette a Perſonage of the Trinyte, wyth a multytude of Aungels playenge and ſyngynge upon all inſtrumentes of muſyk. And upon the front of the ſayd Trone, was wrytten theſe verſes or ballades followynge, the whych were ſpoken by the Father unto the Kyng.

To you my aungels thys precept ye aſſure,
This prince that is ſo younge & tender of age,
That ye entende & do your beſy cure,
To kepe & ſave hym from all mane damage,
In hys lyfe here duryng all his age
That his renowne may ſprede & ſhyne ferre
And of his two realmes to ceaſe the mortal warre.

And I will ferther as I ſhewe to hym here,
Fulfyll hym with joye & worldly habundaunce;
And with lengthe of many a holſome yere,
I ſhall comfort & helpe with all pleaſaunce;
And of his lieges to have faythfull obeyſaunce
And alſo multiply & encreaſe his lyne,
And cauſe his nobles thorugh the worlde ſhyne.

And thys done, he entred the Churchyarde, where he was mette wyth procession of the Deane & the Chanons of Paulys, with whome also in Pontificalibus came the Archbyshop of Cauntebury & Chauncelor of Englande, wyth the Byshop of Lyncolne, of Bathe, of Salysbury, of Norwyche, of Ely, & of Rochester, whyche so conveyed hym into the Churche, & there made hys oblacyons.

And that done, he took agayne his Stede at the West doze of Paulys, & so rode forth to Westminstre, where agayne he was of the Abbot & Covent receyved with procession, & by them conveyed unto Saynt Edwardes shryne, & there tarved a whyle, "*Te Deum*" was songe in the Quyer. And that finyshed, he was of his Lordes conveyed unto his Palays; and than the Mayre with his Cytezyns returned joyusly to London.

History of Coronations.

Perhaps there is no subject in history to be found more pleasing, or more curious, than the account of the various methods of electing kings, and the various ceremonies used at such elections. These, if regularly traced out from the manners and customs of all the different nations, and placed in a proper series, would well deserve the attention of the public. But such is the nature of the present work, that matters here touched upon must not (to keep the work in any moderate size) be lengthened with extensive comments; and add to this, that there is little else than what is strictly national, can be of much real use to the furtherance of the design; therefore I shall content myself with a short account of the ancient and more modern ceremonies of our own ancestors; with mention only of such foreign matters as are absolutely necessary for the better explanation of them.

Among the Britons, (as it is thought by many authors) such men were made kings (or rather *vice-roys*, the Druids bearing such universal sway) as the Druids themselves should chuse forth from the rest, or else it was left to the determination of the sword. Dr. Plott, Borlase, &c.

Cæsar hath told us, that when the nation united against him as the common foe to all, they chose for their leader an experienced chieftain, the brave Casibelan; but rent and torn as they were with different factions, and various governments, they so ill obeyed his orders, (as Cæsar himself confesses) that scattered about and divided among themselves, they opened the way for the more experienced and more politic enemy. Cæsar's Comment. Lib. 5.

During the Roman government, we meet with many chiefs or kings starting up, till at length, more pleased with the Roman yoke, they in imitation of their conquerors, elected one king, or chief, who presided over them all. And in this state we find them at the arrival of the Saxons, under Vortegern their chief, their leader, or their king. But yet there does not among the whole catalogue of British kings, (opposers of the Saxons) appear to be any regular and hereditary succession, for they seem to be rising up like the judges of Israel, from the valiant and great men of the realm, to save (if possible) their drooping and oppressed country. Vide Speed.

The

The great *Aurelius Ambroſius* was elected by the voice of the people, a brave and worthy man, whoſe *eulogium* the mournful Gildas has given in the following words: Duce Ambroſio Aureliano viro modeſto, qui ſolus fuit comes, fidelis, fortis, veraxque, &c.

Gildas. Hiſt. Brit.

And among our anceſtors, the ancient Saxons, the valiant men were choſen forth to be their kings or leaders, which authority only was to be held by them during the time of danger, to defend their country from its common enemy.

The name of king itſelf, with our anceſtors, imports a valiant man, and a leader; for, ſays Verſtegan, "Cuning" (the ancient Saxon word for king) "is as much in ſignification as one *eſpecially valiant*, and this being the title of the chiefe of all, expreſſeth him the moſt apparent in courage or valour. And certaine it is that the kings of moſt nations were in the beginning elected and choſen by the people to raigne over them, in regard of the greatneſſe of their courage, valour, and ſtrength, as being therefore beſt able to defend and governe them. And as Olaus Magnus writeth, it was an ancient cuſtome in the Septentrionall regions, that ſuch young noblemen or gentlemen as gave greateſt proofe of their ſingular valour, were by thoſe country kings adopted to be their ſonnes; yea, and to ſucceed in the crowne after them, if their owne ſonnes were not thought to have in them ſuch great valour as in thoſe times was expected. And the reaſon why they adopted ſuch ſonnes as aforeſayd, and thereby made them capable of ſucceeding them in their kingdomes was, for that (as they ſayd) they might in their owne ſonnes be deceived, when they ſaw not how they would prove, but in their adopted ſonnes they could not be deceived, becauſe they had ſeene of them ſufficient experience and tryall already."

Verſtegan, p. 314.

Olaus Mag. Lib. 8.

The Jews, when they referred the choice of their king to the determination of Almighty God, prayed fervently for one, who by his valour might be a conſtant check upon the mighty power of the ſurrounding nations, under whoſe yoke they had experienced grievous hardſhips. Nay, what was their expectation of the promiſed *Meſſiah*, but of a temporal chief or king, under whoſe victorious banner they might be led on to conqueſt and to glory? whoſe puiſſant ſword might with blood and deſtruction relieve them from the oppreſſion of the Romans, and ſet them high in honour, as lords above the other nations of the univerſe?

The ceremonies uſed by the ancient Britons, at the inauguration of their kings, have not been handed down to us: but when the old Saxons had elected their chief, he was ſet upon a ſhield and borne aloft, amidſt the loud applauſe and acclamation of the ſurrounding people: and ſomewhat of this cuſtom the Danes preſerved in ſetting their new-elected king upon a high ſtone, placed in the midſt of a circle of twelve ſmaller ſtones. And this ſhewing of the king to the people was afterwards practiſed by the Saxons, even in the days of Chriſtianity; for Athelſtan was crowned by Dunſtan, at Kingſton, upon a large ſcaffold erected in the market-place, that he might be ſeen and approved of by the people. But this cuſtom is of very ancient ſtanding, for thus Solomon was anointed in the preſence of the people. "So Zadok the prieſt, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the ſonne of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites, and the Pelethites went down, and cauſed Solomon to ride upon king David's mule, and brought him to Eihon. And Zadok the prieſt tooke the horne of oyle out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon; and they blew the trumpet, and all the people ſaid, God ſave king Solomon! And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, ſo that the earth rent with the ſound of them."

Vide pag. 87 of the 1ſt vol.

First Book of Kings, 1 chap. ver. 38, 39, and 40.

The

The antient ornaments placed on the heads of the chiefs and leaders, by way of diſtinction, were wreaths, or garlands of laurels. An old delineation (copied in the *Monarchie Francois*, of Father Montfaucon) which repreſents a chief elected, and ſet upon a ſhield, has therein pictured a youth, who ſtands on an elevation behind the chief, holding over his head a garland, which appears to be made of laurel leaves: from theſe honourable wreaths, came fillets *, as worn by the kings of the Grecians; circles of gold, and radiated crowns, as uſed by the Romans; and from thence the rich and ſplendid crowns, ornamented with jewels, as are exhibited on the portraitures of the kings of the latter ages. And theſe honorary ornaments, thus given to the valiant men, were as it were, a kind of *memento* of that confidence which the people placed in their chiefs, and they were as ſpurs to their valour, to lead the armies forth with intrepidity, and caution; leſt by any unmanly cowardice, they ſhould ſully, or diſgrace that high honour, which was beſtowed upon them by the people.

The ceremony of anointing the king, at his inauguration, we ſeem to owe to the Jewiſh nation only; among whom it was eſteemed as ſacred, and the perſon ſo anointed, was conſecrated to God; for this reaſon the prieſts were anointed, Moſes, by God's command, made holy oil, "And thou ſhalt make an oyle of holy oyntment, an oyntment compound after the art of the apothecary; it ſhall be an holy anointing oyle." With this he was commanded to anoint the ark, the tabernacle, and all the utenſils, which were to be conſecrated to the Lord, and further the Lord ſaid, "thou ſhalt with this oyle annoint Aaron and his ſonnes, and conſecrate them, that they may miniſter unto me in the prieſts office."

Exodus, chap. 30, ver. 25.

Ibid, v. 25.

And when the Lord had choſen Saul, "then Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, and kiſſed him, and ſaid: is it not becauſe the Lord hath annointed thee to be the captain over his inheritance?"

1 Sam. chap. 10, ver. 1.

Thus alſo when the Lord had choſen David from his brethren, Samuel took the horne of oyle, and anointed him in the midſt of his brethren: and the ſpirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward. And hath not the Pſalmiſt David himſelf, metaphorically expreſſed the *Meſſiah*, by the epithets of "*Holy One*," and of "*The Lord's Anointed?*"

Vide Pſalms of David.

The ſon of Sirach alſo ſpeaking in praiſe of the prophet Elias, or Elijah, ſaith "who anoynted kings for revenge, and prophets to ſucceed after him." The firſt part of this verſe alludes to Elijah's being ſent by God to anoint Hazael; "Go (ſaid the Lord to him) to the wilderneſs of Damaſcus, and when thou comeſt, anoint Hazael to be king over Syria." This man was by God ordained, as a ſcourge to the Iſraelites, for their diſobedience; for afterwards it is ſaid, "In thoſe days the Lord began to cut Iſrael ſhort, and Hazael ſmote them in all the coaſtes of Iſrael." The ſecond part of the verſe is explained by the following command of God to Elijah, "and Eliſha, the ſon of Shaphat, of Abel-Meholah, ſhalt thou annoint to be prophet in thy room." From all theſe

Eccleſiaſticus, chap. 48 ver. 8.

1 Kings, 19 chap. v. 15.

2 Kings, 10 chap. v. 32.

1 Kings, 19 chap. 16 v.

* Some authors have affirmed, that no ornaments were worn upon the heads of the kings, or emperors, but the fillet, before the time of Conſtantine the Great, who wore a diadem, or circle of gold: but this muſt be a great miſtake, for there are coins of Alexander, the ſon of Antony and Cleopatra, with ſeveral of Auguſtus, that have radiated crowns repreſented upon the heads on the obverſe.

theſe inſtances it is plain, that the perſons ſo anointed, were held ſacred before the Lord; or as in the Holy Bible it is expreſſed, "the ſpirit of the Lord was upon them."

This cuſtom of anointing, was alſo with Chriſtianity brought into this kingdom: the exact time is uncertain, but the learned Selden has thought, that it was in uſe here, even before it was practiſed in France, Ann. Dom. 496, at the coronation of Clovis: and very likely this cuſtom prevailed among the Chriſtian Britons from the time of *Lucius*, the firſt enlightened prince of this kingdom. for it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that an ordinance ſo holy, given at firſt by the command of God to his people; (and after conſtantly continued by them, at the conſecration of their prieſts eſpecially, as well as at the inauguration of their kings; by which means it became as it were, a part of the antient law) ſhould be entirely neglected. For tho' the Chriſtian religion forbids the uſe of ſacrifices, with many other Jewiſh ceremonies, yet the ſacred diſtinction of prieſts, made holy before the Lord; and of kings appointed by God; was never altered that we find from any paſſage in the Holy Teſtament: nay the contrary appears in the firſt epiſtle of St. Peter, wherein we find, that the ſecond great part of man's duty, is to reſpect the perſon of the king, as a ruler placed over him by Almighty God; "*Fear God, and honour the king*," are the words of the apoſtle. Among the Chriſtian Saxons, this ſacred cuſtom continued in full force: the antient author Bede, makes mention of the *ampula*, and *holy oil*, but in no place of his hiſtory, (either at the conſecration of the eccleſiaſtics, or coronations of the kings) takes any notice of anointing: and indeed, after a very ſtrict reſearch, I meet with no particular mention of this ceremony, till the year 857, when, ſays Aſſerius in his annals, Hunberchtus Orientalium Anglorum Antiſtes unxit Oleo, conſecravitque in regem Eadmundum gloriosiſſimum cum gaudio magno et honore maximo in Villa regia quæ dicitur Burna, quia tunc temporis regalis ſedes erat, anno ætatis ſuæ XV. — Which ſignifies *that Eadmund, in the 15th Year of his age, was, by the holy Hunberchtus, anointed with oil, and ſacred king of the Eaſt Angles, with great glory and much joyfullneſs, at a town called* Burna, *then the ſeat of the kings of that country.*

Vide Analyſis of honor.

1 Gen. Epiſ. of Peter, cap. 1, ver. 19.

Bede Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 3, cap. 15.

Aſſerii Annales, ſub. an. 857.

And William of Malmſbury, ſpeaking of Ælfred, tells us, that "unctionem regiam, & coronam a papa Leone olim Romæ ſuſceperat," which expreſſes it fuller than it is done in Aſſerius's life of Ælfred, for he only ſays, "uxnit in regem," which ſignifies no more than *the anointing of him king*; whereas the former not only ſpeaks of the *anointing*, but of the *crowning* alſo.

Malmſ. de geſt Reg. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 4. Aſſerius in vita Ælfredi.

And ſo likewiſe the Norman princes were anointed, and ſolemnly crowned.

William the Conqueror, the day of his coronation, cauſed the peers to take oath of allegiance to him, while he himſelf at the altar of St. Peter's, took a ſolemn oath, to defend the rights of the church, and to eſtabliſh good laws for the preſervation of the people's liberty, and for the advancement of juſtice and good order throughout the realm.

In the time of the Saxons, as well as in the beginning of the Norman æra, we find no mention made of more than one eccleſiaſtic who crowned the king; and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury made a claim, either to perform himſelf, or depute ſome other to perform for him that ſacred office; for when Henry the

Second

Second cauſed his ſon to be crowned, Thomas Becket made it a bone of contention with the king, becauſe he had not been appointed by him to do it; and moreover farther, he ſuſpended the Archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of Durham, for crowning the prince without his licence. But in the later time, there is particular mention made of two, three, and ſometimes more eccleſiaſtics, who attended to crown, and aſſiſt at the coronations of the kings. The principal ceremonies at the coronations of the Chriſtian kings of the Saxons differed but little (as appears from the imperfect tracings left in the antient hiſtories of their times) from thoſe of the Normans.

The firſt king whoſe coronation is circumſtantially deſcribed, is Richard the Firſt; the whole ceremonies, as given in that faithful old hiſtorian Mathew Paris, are here ſet down.

The duke Richard, having every thing prepared neceſſary for his coronation,* came to London, where there were aſſembled together the archbiſhops, of Canterbury, of Rhoan in Normandy, and of Treves in Germany; alſo the archbiſhop of Dublin, and all the biſhops, earls, barons, and nobles of the realm, in order as follows: Firſt came the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, and the reſt of the clergy, habited in their rich canonical robes, bearing croſſes, holy water, and cenſors with incenſe; and from the very inner door of his bed-chamber, they conducted the duke in ſolemn proceſſion to the high altar of the Abbey Church of Weſtminſter; between the biſhops and clergy, went four barons, each bearing a candleſtick, with a wax taper therein lighted up; and after theſe came two earls; the firſt carrying the royal ſcepter, on the top of which was a golden ſwan; the other bearing a royal rod, on the top of which was a dove; after theſe came two earls, and between them three others, carrying ſwords in golden ſcabbards, taken from the king's treaſury, and they were followed by ſix earls, and barons, bearing the royal robes and veſtures; then followed the earl of Cheſter, bearing the crown, beautifully wrought with gold, and ſet with jewels; and after theſe came the duke, with ſeveral biſhops, both at his right hand and at his left; and over them was borne a rich canopy of ſilk, held by four barons, upon four lances, ornamented with gold: being come to the altar (on which was laid the book of the Holy Goſpel, and many various relicks of ſaints) he there ſwore "that all the days of his life, he would conſtantly endeavour to keep the holy ordinances of God, and preſerve the peace and honour of the church:" he ſwore alſo, "to exerciſe juſtice towards his ſubjects, to aboliſh all grievous laws, and obſerve, and put in practice all that were good, and agreeing with the conſtitution of the people:" then they ſtriped him of all his garments, except his breeches and his ſhirt, which was cut away at the ſhoulders, becauſe he was to be there anointed: he then having rich ſandals ſplendidly wrought with gold, put upon his feet, was by Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, anointed in three ſeveral places, that his to ſay on this head, his ſhoulders, and on his right arm, with ſolemn prayers and other offices of the Holy Church: then they placed upon his head, a ſacred cap of linen, furred without; and after that

Mat. Paris. in vit. Reg. Ricard.

* The method of proclaiming a king, as from a MS. of Lidgate, written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, was thus: two heralds went firſt, who with their trumpets ſounding, proclaimed the heir of the crown; next followed the prince himſelf royally habited, with his ſword bearer on his left hand, attended by the lords and nobles. Vide plate 4, fig 13. So alſo all our antient chronicles, ſpeaking of the proclamation of the Engliſh kings, tell us that it was done "with ſound of trumpettes."

that he was habited in the regal garments, the Tunican, and the Dalmatia; and the archbiſhop gave him a ſword to defend the rights of the Church, which done, two earls put their ſpurs upon his ſhoes, and cloathed him in a cloak; then the archbiſhop conjured him not to accept of the charge, which they were about to lay upon him, unleſs he fully reſolved to perform what he had ſo ſolemnly ſworn; and he anſwered, that he would with Gods help, faithfully obſerve the whole that he had promiſed. Then he had the crown given to him from the altar, which he took, and gave to the archbiſhop, who placed it upon his head; then the ſcepter was put into his right hand, and the royal rod (with the dove on the top) in his left; and ſo crowned, he was led by the biſhops, and barons, preceeded by the barons bearing the tapers, with the croſſes, and the three ſwords before mentioned to his ſeat; and they then began to perform the ſolemn maſs, and when they came to the anthem of offering, two biſhops led him to make his offering, and after re-conducted him to his ſeat again; at laſt the maſs being finiſhed, with the ſinging, and every other ſacred rite performed, the two biſhops then led him crowned, with the ſcepter in his right hand, and the royal rod in his left, and the proceſſion returned to the place where the king was firſt ſeated: and then he had his royal garments, and crown taken of, and was cloathed in lighter veſtures, and a leſſer crown put upon his head, and ſo went forth to dinner; where the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, and barons, were placed at the table according to their order, rank, and dignity, with the clergy, and people.

Froiſſart's Chronicle vol. 4.

Among the more modern authors, *Froiſſart*, who lived at the very time of Henry the Fourth, has given the following circumſtantial account of the coronation of that prince, "and the day being aſſigned for his (duke Henries) coronation, which was on a Monday, the 13th of October, 1399; he the Saterday preceeding, went from the palace of Weſtminſter, to the tower of London, accompayned with a great number of attendants; and the eſquires, who were to be made knights the morning following, were alſo there lodged, to the number of 46; and every one of theſe eſquires, had each man his chamber, and each man his bath, wherein he might bathe himſelf that night, and on the morrow the duke of Lancaſter, made them all knights at maſſe, giveing to each a long ſtrait circoate of a green colour, and the ſleves furred with menever; * and hoods of the ſame furred in the ſame manner like prieſts; and theſe new made knights, had beſides upon the left ſhoulder, a double cord of white ſilk, with white taſſels hanging down; on Sunday after dinner the duke went from the tower to Weſtminſter bare headed, haveing a colar about his neck, with the ſame device as was uſually worn by the kings of France; he was habited in a ſhort jacket of tiſſue of gold, after the German faſhion, with a blew garter on his left leg; and he was mounted on a beautiful white courſer. He was accompanied with the prince his ſon, ſix dukes, ſix earls, and eight barons, with at leaſt eight or nine hundred knights; and in this manner they rode through London, where all the citezens and companies, with their enſigns and different devices, met and conveyed the duke to Weſtminſter, Their number amounted to full 6000 horſemen; and that day, as well as the next alſo, were nine branches of fountains in the cheap, † which run both red and white wine.

* *Menever* or minever fur, is ſaid to be the ſkin of a ſquirrells belly or white weazel.
† Now called Cheapſide.

wine. And at night the duke was bathed, and on the morrow, at his upriſing, he went to confeſſion, (of which, ſays the author, he ſtood in great need) and after that he heard three ſeveral maſſes. That done, the prelates who were aſſembled, with a great number of clergy, came from the Abbey Church at Weſtminſter to the palace, to conduct the duke to the church; and they returned in the ſame proceſſion, followed by the duke, and all the lords and grandees attending.

The dukes, earls and barons, were habited in long *houppelands* * of ſcarlet, and long robes furred with menever, and large hoods furred in the ſame manner; and the dukes and earls were diſtinguiſhed by three *honobles* † de menever over the left ſhoulder, ſome rounding, others lengthways; whereas the barons had but two. And in the proceſſion from the palace to the abbey, there was held over the head of the duke, a rich canopy of ſilk, borne upon four ſilver wands, and at the corners were four golden bells ringing. This canopy was carried by four citezens of Dover, ‡ to whom it belonged by right; and on each ſide of the duke was borne a ſword, the one the ſword of the church, carried by his ſon the prince of Wales, and the other the ſword of juſtice, borne by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, coneſtable of England; and the earl of Weſtmoreland, marſhal of England, carried the ſcepter. This proceſſion entered the church about nine o'clock, and in the middle thereof was erected a high ſcaffold, covered all over with rich cloth, and upon this ſcaffold was placed a chair, or rather royal throne, covered with gold tiſſue; and when the duke was come into the church, he went up on the ſcaffold, and ſeated himſelf in the royal chair with great ſtate, without either a crown or a hood upon his head: and then the archbiſhop ſpoke to thoſe below the ſcaffold, and told them, that God had ſent them a man (ſhewing them the duke) to be their king and lord; and then he demanded of them if they were willing he ſhould crown and conſecrate him for their king; to which they all with one voice cried out, Yes! Yes! holding their hands croſſed, as promiſing him their faith and loyalty. This done, the duke deſcended from the ſcaffold, and went to the altar to be conſecrated; to perform which holy office, there were two archbiſhops, and ten biſhops, and there before the altar he was undreſſed to his ſhirt, and was there anointed in ſix places, on the head, on the breaſt, upon the two ſhoulders, and behind between the ſhoulders, and on the hands; then they put a hood upon his head, and while they anointed and conſecrated him, the clergy ſang the litany, and like offices that are uſed at the bleſſing of the water at the font. Then was the king habited in a church dreſs, like a prieſt, and they put upon him a robe of red velvet like a prelate, and put upon his feet ſhoes made of the ſame velvet, and ſpurs with only one point, without any rowels; and the ſword of juſtice was then drawn out of the ſheath, which was firſt bleſſed, and then given to the king; he returned it again into the ſheath, and preſented it to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who girded it upon him: then was brought the crown of Edward the Confeſſor, (this crown was arched in the form of a croſs) which being firſt bleſſed by the archbiſhop, was afterwards placed upon the head of the king; then after hearing the maſs, the king departed from the church, and went to his palace. The coneſtable of England, and the marſhall,

* Houppelands are long circotes or gowns, looſe at bottom, training on the ground.
† Honobles or ourletz, were rows of fur put at the top of the robes, like the capes of cloaks.
‡ This is from the French printed edition, in a MS. in the Royal Library. It is citezens of London.

ſhall, together with coneſtables lieutenant, went before the king to clear the way as he returned to the palace. In the middle of the palace yard there was a fountain, which played out wine, both white and red, through ſeveral various pipes. The king being returned, went into the hall, and from thence into his chamber, from whence he ſoon returned into the great hall, and ſat down to dinner. At the firſt table was the king, the two archbiſhops, and ten biſhops. On either ſide of the king was borne a ſword, the one by the prince of Wales, and the other by the coneſtable of England; and at the bottom of the table ſtood the marſhall holding the ſcepter.

At the ſecond table were the lords of the cinque-ports, &c. of England; and at the third the citezens of London: the fourth was occupied by the new-made knights; and the fifth by the knights and eſquires of honour.

While they yet ſat at dinner, came a knight named *Diureth*, armed at all points, mounted on a horſe, which was alſo covered with mail, of a beautiful red colour, and before him went a knight, who carried his lance; and the aforeſaid knight had by his ſide a naked ſword, and on the other ſide a dagger; and he gave to the king a label, which he read, and the contents of it were, "that if any knight, ſquire, or gentleman, would either ſay or maintain, that king Henry was not the rightful king, he was ready to combat with him immediately, or any where, or at any time that it ſhould pleaſe the king to aſſign." And the king gave the label to one of his heralds, and cauſed him to cry it in ſix ſeveral places in the city, as well as in the hall, but none were hardy enough to make any anſwer to this challenge.

And when the king had dined, and taken ſome wine and confectionary in the ſame hall, he retired to his chamber, and every one departed to their own homes; and ſo ended the day of the coronation of king Henry."—Thus much is from Froiſſart; and if the reader would know any further matters on this ſubject, he is referred to Hall and Grafton, in either of which he may find a long and particular account of the ſplendid coronation of king Richard the Third, which I would have here inſerted, but that on account of its great length, I was obliged to omit it. And I have to obſerve beſides, that the chief ceremonies are very little differing from thoſe of the above related inauguration, which is another principal reaſon of its omiſſion.

The unhappy prince king Edward the Second, was in the following manner deprived of his honour and royal power: He was brought into a room in Kenilworth caſtle, amidſt a great number of the oppoſite faction, where he, as before inſtructed, (for he found all reſiſtance was in vain) declared to them, "that he was ſorry that the people ſhould ſo much diſlike his government, and that he was very ready to reſign his power, and hoped that they would chuſe his ſon Edward to be king over them in his ſtead." This reſignation being received, a knight, named William Truſſel, ſpoke as follows: "I William Truſſel, yn name of alle the menne of the lande of Englande and of all the parliamente procurator, reſigne to thee Edward the hommage that was made to the ſometime; and fyome this time forward nowe folowing, I defie the, and pryve the of alle royalle power, and I ſhall never be tendante to the as for king after this time:" which being done, Sir Thomas Blunt, knight, ſteward of the houſhold, by breaking his ſtaffe, reſigned his office, and declared that the late king's family were diſcharged.

Caxton Ed. of Polychronicon, lib. 7, chap. 43.

Thus

Thus alſo at the beginning of the troubles in the reign of Richard the Second, Thomay Percy, erle of Worceſter and lord of kinge's houſholde, (ſays Grafton) breake his white ſtaffe of office, and licenced all the ſervants to depart. And king Richard himſelf, when he was taken, made a forced reſignation of his crown before a great aſſembly of lords at the Tower of London. He was brought into the chamber before the lords royally habited in his coronation robes, and a rich bonnet upon his head, and he held the crown and ſcepter in his hands, which he reſigned to the duke of Hereford, beſeeching the lords who were preſent, that they would accept of the duke to be their king in his ſtead. Then this reſignation was taken down, and read in full parliament, and the king thenceforth deprived of his royal power.

Grafton, page 399.

Froiſſart, vol. 4.

It was cuſtomary with the Norman kings to be crowned more than once; nay, the hiſtorians tell us, that William the Conqueror was crowned three times a year. They alſo ſometimes cauſed their ſons to be crowned during their own life time, and made the lords and nobles ſwear allegiance to them, as if thereby they confirmed to them the ſucceſſion of the crown after their death.

See plate 32 & 33 in the Reg. & Ecc. Antiq.

Vide Harding.

Mathew Paris, Rog. Hoveden, &c.

Enſigns of Regality.

Purple in old time was the regal habiliment, and none but kings or emperors permitted to wear it.

The *ſcepter* is an enſign of regality as old as the hiſtory of kings. The ſcepter of David in the bible, is a metaphorical expreſſion for the whole kingdom or dominion over which David ruled.

The *crown*. Of this we have already made ſome mention. In the earlier ages, the Saxon kings, as appears from their coins, wore diadems or circles of gold, ſome plain, others appear to be ornamented with pearls, as they are exhibited plate 23 of the firſt volume, figures 9, 10 & 11. To theſe ſucceeded the radiated crown, fig. 5 of the ſame plate; and from thence the flored, fig. 1, 2, 3, and 4; after which it was embelliſhed, beſides the flower, with croſſes, (ſee the reſt of the crowns in the ſame plate) and varied in many different forms and ſhapes, according to the fancy of the artiſt who formed them, or deſire of the wearer. See alſo the crowns of the Normans, plate 2, and thoſe of the latter ages, plate 6, both of this volume. Some authors have inſinuated, that Henry the Third was the firſt king that was crowned with a crown arched and flored; others have ſaid it was Henry the Firſt; but both muſt be miſtaken. See the Saxon crowns, plate 23, fig. 7 & 8. So alſo we have ſeen from Froiſſart, that Henry the Fourth was crowned with the crown of the Confeſſor, which was arched over in the ſhape of a croſs.

Vide Analyſis of Honour, page 135.

The *globe*; ſome have affirmed that Edward the Confeſſor, was the firſt Engliſh prince that uſed it, yet there is very little doubt to be made, but that it is of a much more antient date; for in the firſt plate of the Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities of England, which repreſents king Edgar between two ſaints, adoring Chriſt; one of the ſaints bears his ſcepter, the other the globe with a croſs upon the top: this delineation was made in the year 966; but we may

Ibid.

prove

Vide pag. 31, vol. 1. Bede's Ecc. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 16. SpeedChron

prove its ſtill greater antiquity, if with the faithful Speed, we agree that the *Tufan*, which Bede informs us was born before Edwine, may really be rendered in Engliſh, a *ball*, or *globe*, the emblem of *ſovereignty*. The croſs was after added, which ſignified the faith of the king.

On the great ſeal of Henry the Firſt, of Stephen, and of Henry the Second, the globes which they hold have a bird on the top, above the croſs, perhaps a dove, the ſymbol of peace; which every good king ſhould endeavour to promote, as well in the church, as among his ſubjects.

Vide Speed. Stow's Chron.

The *ring* was alſo an enſign of royalty, and was put upon the finger of the king at his coronation. Thus in the time of the Saxons, Offa adopted Edmund to reign over the Eaſt Angles in his ſtead, by ſending his ring, as a token of his reſignation: and when that unfortunate prince, Richard the Second, delivered up his power to the Duke of Lancaſter, he confirmed the reſignation, by taking his ſignet ring from his own, and putting it upon the Duke's finger.

Of the Nobility, and Method of their Creation.

Analyſis of Honor ſub. Tit. Prince.

The *Prince of Wales*, is not a very antient title: Edward the Firſt, the eldeſt ſon of Henry the Third, was the firſt who bore it; and from his time, the king's eldeſt ſon hath conſtantly been ſtiled Prince of Wales. The preſent method of creating him is as follows, "he is preſented before the king in princely robes, who putteth about his neck a ſword bend-wiſe, a cap and coronet on his head, a ring on his middle finger, a verge of gold in his hand, and his letters patent after they are read. The word prince is borrowed ftom the Latin *Princeps*, but antiently our anceſtors wrote it ꝑꝓꝛꝯ, which ſignifies a firſt, or *chief*.

Verſtegan, p. 315.

Ibid.

The title of *Duke*, ſays Verſtegan, was by the French taken from the Latin *Dux*, a leader; but by our progenitors it was antiently written Hertoga, the chief conductor or leader of an army; Herie, ſignifying an army, and toga to train or draw forward. Among the Norman nobility, the title of Duke was almoſt loſt, ſuch kings indeed bore it, who in right of the Conqueror, were dukes of Normandy. They were created by girding on them the ducal ſword. Thus was Richard the Firſt, ſays Hoveden, "accinctus eſt gladio ducatus Normanniæ." *That he was girded with* the ducal ſword of Normandy; and beſides this John had a coronet, or diadem, placed upon his head, for ſays Mathew Paris, "Et interim comes *Johannes Rothomagum* veniens, in octavis Paſchæ gladio ducatus *Normanniæ* accinctus eſt, et matrice eccleſia, per miniſterium *Walteri Rothomagenſis* archiepiſcopi: ubi archiepiſcopus memoratus, ante majus altere in capite ejus poſuit circulum aureum; habentem in ſummitate per gyrum (*circuitum* apud Hoveden) roſulas aureas artificialiter fabricatas. Et dux coram clero et populo juravit ſuper reliquias ſanctorum & ſuper evangelia ſacro ſancta; *quod ipſe ſanctam eccleſiam & ejus dignitates bona fide & ſine malo ingenio defenderat; & ordinatos honoraret*: juravit etiam quod *leges iniquas, ſi quæ eſſent, deſtrueret, & bonas ſurrogaret*: which imports that *after the ducal ſword was girded on, in the*

Hoveden. P. 373.

Mat. Paris, in vit. Johan

the body of the church, the archbiſhop of Rhoan, before the high altar, placed upon his head a circle of gold, having on the top a circle of ſmall roſes.—And further, that *he there ſwore upon the Holy Goſpels, and upon the holy reliques, faithfully, without fraud or deceit, to defend the Holy Church and its dignities; and regard the ordinances thereof with honour; he alſo ſwore that he would aboliſh bad laws, if any there ſhould be, and eſtabliſh good ones in their ſtead.*—

The *earl* was originally derived from the old word eaꝛl, *honour*, and ethel *noble*, which, ſays Verſtegan "is as much as to ſay, as *honour noble*, or noble of honour; the earl was created in the ſame manner as the duke, by girding him with the ſword of the earldom: thus was Geffrey Fitz-Peter, on the day of king John's coronation, girded with the ſword of the earldom of Eſſex, and that day he ſerved "ad menſam Regis accincti gladiis," *at the King's table, girt with the ſword.* Hoveden p. 451.

Formerly there does not ſeem to have been any difference between the ornaments worn by the dukes and earls; their golden circles which were in the place of coronets, are preciſely the ſame in the reigns of the Norman kings, as well as to the time of Richard the Second; theſe circles were only ornamented with ſmall round knobs, or balls, or elſe roſes. Edward the Black Prince, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, in the Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, have this circle thus ornamented: See fig. 10. pl. 6. of this vol. In No. 42 & 43, plates of the abovementioned Antiquities are figures with crowns or coronets, who are in both plates repreſented as attending upon the king; both the delineations from which thoſe plates are copied were done in the reign of Henry the Sixth; and the coronet worn by the figure on the 43d plate (which is ſuppoſed to repreſent the duke of Gloceſter, uncle to the king) is given in pl. 6. fig. 11. of this volume; the other, the wearer of which is unknown, is exhibited fig. 12. of the ſame plate. But in the reign of Henry the Seventh, when John Rous, that excellent antiquarian lived, we find the coronets belonging to the earls are compoſed of an entire circle of roſes; and thoſe appertaining to the dukes have little balls above the roſes, ſee pl. 6. of this volume, fig. 14. which is the duke's coronet, while that repreſented fig. 15. belongs to the earl. In the latter days, the dukes and earls were created by hanging the ſword over their ſhoulders, which the *barons* and *viſcounts* had not; elſe no ways differing in the ceremonies of creation. Pl. 15 & 16.

Bannerets, by ſome called *equites vexilliarii*; theſe were created in the field in the following manner; the knight was brought into the preſence of the king, between two other knights, with his pennon of arms in his hand, and there the heralds declare his merit, for which he deſerves to be made a knight banneret, and thenceforth to diſplay his banner in the field. Then the king cauſed the point of his pennon to be rent off, and the new-made knight returned to his tent, the trumpet ſounding before him.—A banneret, thus made, might bear his banner diſplayed, if he was a captain, and ſet his arms thereon, as other degrees above him. "Howbeit (ſays Hollingſhead) theſe knights were never made but in the warres, the king's ſtandard being unfolded." Camden fol. 706. Segar fol. 69 Analyſis of Honour, 39. Hollingſ. Deſcri. Brit. p. 105.

The *knight*; "this title (ſays Verſtegan) of right worſhipfull dignity, was heretofore of our anceſtors written Cniht; —a Knight, as we underſtand it, is in the modern Teutonicke, Saxon or Duytſh tongue, Rider, which is, indeed, all one in Engliſh with Ryder, and anſwereth unto the *French* word *chevallier*, which might be *Engliſhed* a Horſeman, and ſo agreeth with *Eques* Verſtegan p. 318.

MS. of Lidgate. in Latin." has it, Thus alſo Lidgate, in his tale of the horſe, the ſheep and the goat,

Equus ab Equo, is ſaid of very right
And Chevalier, is ſaid of Chevalrie
In whiche a Rider called is aknigh t
Arogones done alſo ſpecifie,
Caballieus through all that partie,
Is name of worſchip, & ſo took his ginning,
Of Spurs of Gold, and chiefly Riding.

Dr. Hickes's Gram. Sax. p. 151. And an old MS. quoted by Dr. Hickes, gives an account of the Conqueror's making his ſon a knight at Weſtminſter; it runs thus. ⁊ dubbade hiꝛ ꝛunu Henꝛie to ꝛiddene þæn, *and there he dubbed his ſon Henry a Rider.*— By all which (as Verſtegan obſerves) it may ſeem ſtrange how our name of Knight, being with us in ſuch eſteem and worſhip, ſhould in the etymology thereof, appear no more than it doth (for, both in High and Low Germany, by the name of Knight is underſtood a ſervant.)

Verſtegan p. 319. "To reſolve (continues he) which difficulty, I can judge no other, having no proof or pregnant reaſon otherwiſe to enduce me, but that the name of Knight muſt have begun to be a name of honour among our anceſtors, in ſuch as were admitted for their merits to be Knights to the king, that is to be his owne ſervants, or in ſome ſort his officers or retayners, and to ride with him, and therefore it ſhould ſeeme ſome of them, if not all, were antiently called Knight-ryders."

Mat. Paris in Vit. Guli. Conqueſt. As the creation of a duke or an earl was antiently expreſſed by girding on of the ſword, ſo that of a knight is expreſſed by "the gift of the military girdle:" thus ſays Mathew Paris, ſpeaking of the knighting of young Henry, the Conqueror's ſon, Rex Anglorum Willielmus apud Weſtmonaſterium Henricum filium juniorem cingulo militari donavit.—William, the king of England, at Weſtminſter, gave to his youngeſt ſon Henry the military girdle.

Dugdale's Warwickſh. "Bathing before knighthood (ſays Dugdale) is a cuſtom of very antient date: for (continues he) when Geofry of Anjou was made a knight at *Roan*, by Henry the Firſt, he, with twenty-five eſquires that attended him, were (as John the monk of Marmonſtier affirmeth) bathed according to the ancient cuſtom." And among the Norman writers we find the baths mentioned: Froiſſart, who wrote in the time of Henry the Fourth, has alſo been very particular in his account of the forty-ſix knights, made by Henry the Fourth the day before his coronation, "Et eurent tous ces eſquiꝛes chaſcun ſa chambꝛe, et chaſcun ſon Baing ou ils ſe baignerent

Froiſſart vol. 4. celle nuit," and ſo it has been continued down to us.

The antient method of creation was as follows; the eſquire who was to be knighted, was firſt habited in his proper habit, and then brought in before the king; where the gilt ſpurs were put upon his feet, and the king himſelf girded on his ſword; ſee plate 37, No. 1, in the firſt volume: then the king kiſſed him, and bade him be a good knight, at the ſame time threatening him, that if he derogated from his duty, he ſhould have his ſpurs hewn from his feet, and be deprived of all his honour: we ſee alſo, in the above plate, that a herald attended

Dugdale's Warwickſh. this ceremony, with a ſhield and banner diſplayed.--The above old author, quoted by Dugdale, adds, at the creation of the forementioned Geofry, that he was firſt clothed in fine linen, and a robe of purple, then was put upon him a harneſs of double mail, and gilt ſpurs, and a ſhield of the lions of Anjou was hung about his

his neck; a rich helm was put upon his head, and an armed ſpear into his hand, and laſtly, a ſword from the king's ſtore was girded upon him: and thus armed he mounted a Spaniſh horſe, which was alſo given him by the king: and the feaſt which belonged to his reception of this dignity, was called *feſtum tyrocinii*, (or the feaſt of the new-made knights) and was honoured with tournaments and maſques, which laſted no leſs than ſeven days.

The learned commentator (Dr. Percy) upon the Reliques of Engliſh Poetry, hath juſtly remarked, that "a collar was (alſo) anciently uſed in the ceremony of confering knighthood." And in plate 9 of this vol. we ſee the king is creating Richard Beauchamp knight, and is putting a collar round his neck. Reliques of Engliſh Poetry, vol. 2, p. 79.

The robes and other ornaments which were prepared for this ceremony, were as follows: When he (Geofry of Anjou) firſt came from the bath, he was clothed in fine linen, over that a gown of gold tiſſue, with a tunic of purple upon that, furred with furs of a blood colour, with velvet hoſe, and ſhoes wrought with gold upon his feet; and the edges of his garments were alſo ornamented with gold: and when he was to be created, he was unclothed, and clothed again in fine linen and purple garments ornamented with gold, like thoſe before mentioned.

And when king John made Thomas Sturmy a knight, he ſent a mandamus before to his ſheriffs at Hantſhire, to make the following preparations: A ſcarlet robe, certain cloſe garments of fine linen, and another robe of green or burnet, with a cap and plume of feathers, &c. And thoſe knights created by duke Henry the day before his coronation, had, ſays Froiſſart, longues cottes vestes a estroictes, manches fouzzes de menever, et chappezons pazeil fouzzez de menever, en guiſe de prelatz; et avoient les ditz chevaliezz ſur la seneſtre eſpaule, ung double cozdeau de ſoye blanche a blanche bouppettes pendans. See the account of the coronation of Henry the Fourth. See page of this vol.

The offering the ſword upon the altar, is a ceremony of very ancient date. Ingulphus mentions it as practiſed among the Saxons. And, ſays Dugdale, that it was continued by the Normans, is witneſſed by John Sariſbury, and Peter Coſenſis, who both wrote in the time of Henry the Second. See page 32 of the 1ſt vol.

Hollingſhead, ſpeaking of the later ceremonies of making knights, ſays, "When any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is ſtricken of the prince or his ſubſtitute with his ſworde naked upon the ſhoulder, the prince ſaying, *Soyes chevalier au nom de Dieu*. Be a knight in the name of God. And when he ryſeth up the prince ſayth, *Advances bon chevalier*. Stand forth a good knight. At the coronation of a king or a queene, there be knightes made (continues he) with longer and more curious cerimonies, called knightes of the bath." Holl. Def. Brit. p. 102.

Thus much for the dubbing or creating of knights, and their habits. Let us now ſee the ancient method of degrading them, as given us in an old MS. chronicle of Douglaſs, monk of Glaſtenbury, in whoſe very words I will give it to the public: Sir Andrew Harclay, knight, and earl of Carliſle, (being accuſed of treaſon in the reign of Edward the Second) "was ladde to the barre in the maner of an erle, riallye arayedde, with a ſwerde goldde, and hoſedde, and ſpoyedde; and thenne Sir Antonye Lucye ſeide in this maner, Sir Andrew the king recordeth on yow for the worthineſſe thatte he gaff to you, making yow erle of Cardoille; and ye as a treitour, have ladde the folke off this countre bi Sopelande, and bi the erldom off Lancaſter, werefor the Scottes have diſcomfited us, by yowre treſonne, atte the Abbey off Bekelonde; for iff ye hadde come thider by reſonnabell tyme, the king hadde hadde the victorie: and thatte treſonne ye dide, for the grete ſomme off money thate ye receivedde MS. in the Harlean Library, No. 4690, fol. 64.

ceivedde off Sir James Dowglas, the kingges enemy; and therefor the king wolle thate the order of knighthode, by which ye received your worſchippe, be in your parſonne broughte to noughte; thatte all other knightes, of ſimpell blode as ye bene, in alle Englande, nowe take enſampelle by you, to ſerve the king the more trewly. Thanne he made a knave to hewe off his spoyres with an axe, from his helis; and after thatte he made the ſame knave to breke his ſweyde on his owne hede, (it ſhould be over his head) the whyche the King hadde geve to hym, therwith to defende his londe, when he made him erle of Cayddile; and than he made a knave to do off his clothes, bothe gowne and hode, gurdell & cote, and then the foreſeide Antony ſeide, Andrewe nowgh arte thee no knighte, but thow arte a knave; and for thi treſonne, the king wille thatte thow be drawe, and hongedde, and behededde, diſbowelde and thi bowelles brennedde, thy body quartredde; and thi hede ſchalle be ſente to London, an there itte ſchalle be ſette on the brigge, an thi 4 quarters ſchalle be ſende to 4 townes of Englonde, thatte by the alle other ſoche mowghe be chaſtized. And ſo itte was do in alle pointes, the laſte day of Octobre, the yere of oure Lorde 1322."

The order of the garter is by hiſtorians reported to have been eſtabliſhed by king Edward the Third, as an honorary reward for valour and military proweſs.* As alſo for the encouragement of warlike amuſements, was by him eſtabliſhed the knights of the round table; and in this he is ſaid to have followed the example of the noble Britiſh king Arthur, of whom, together with his hundred knights of the round table, ſo many ſtories and poetic fables have been related by the later writers. Here was a noble field for their romantic geniuſes; here they could raiſe up monſtrous dragons, huge giants, and dreadful necromancers, and give immortal honour to their heroes, by ſending them amidſt ſuch various dangers, there to fight and conquer; and after that exhibit them in triumph, followed by all the vanquiſhed devils, bound in chains of adamant.

Laws and Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

We have already ſeen, that by the conſtitution of the kingdom, every man obnoxious to the penal law, had a right to have fair trial by a jury of twelve men, and then if the delinquent refuſed to plead, he was preſſed to death; and this law was in force as early as the reign of Edward the Third; for, ſays Hollingſhead, in the firſt year of Edward the Third, "one Adam Miniot (concerned in the riot at Bury) ſtoode mute, and refuſed to be tryed by his countrey, and ſo was preſſed to death, as the law in ſuch caſe appoynteth."

Holling-ſhead, p.888

Witneſſes at the London ſeſſions, who were perjured or bribed to favour either party, were in the reign of Edward the Fourth, adjudged to ride from Newgate to the pillory at Cornhill, with mitres of paper upon their heads; and there having ſtood their time in the pillory, they were in the ſame manner conducted back again to Newgate.

Stow's Chron.

Edward

* Some have attributed the origin of this order to different cauſes, as that of the king's taking up the Counteſs of Saliſbury's garter; and when his courtiers ſmiled, he replied, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*; which was afterwards made the motto. Others have ſaid, that it was the queen's garter that the king took up. But Grafton writes (as he tells us) from an old Chronicle, that king Richard the Firſt, "before his departure to the Holy Land, called all the lordes and knightes unto him, and did ſwere them for evermore to be true unto him, and to take his part: and in token thereof he gave to every of them a blewe lace or ribband to be knowen by; and hereof (ſayth that olde Chronicle) began the firſt occaſion of the order of the garter." Grafton's Chronicle, vol. 2, page 86.

Edward the First, in the 38th year of his reign, caused an inquisition to be made throughout his kingdom, called *troylebaston*. This inquisition (says Grafton) "was made upon all officers, as maiors, shirifes, baylifes, excheters, and other officers that misbehaved themselves in their offices, or had used any extorcion or evill dealyng with the kinges people, otherwise then they might lawfully do by vertue of their offices. By reason of which inquisition, many were accused, and redemed their offices by grievous fynes, to the kinges great profite and advauntage." And the poetic historian Harding says thus: Graft. 183.

He (king Edward) set Justices in heize by all assent
That called was that time Troielebaston,
For to enquize of all extozcion, &c.

Harding's Chron. chap. 150, p. 158.

In matters that could not be proved by witnesses, combat was sometimes granted (particularly if the crime was great enough to threaten the life of the accused) and in that case, the conquered party was constantly held guilty; (if the accused of the crime he was accused of; and if the accuser, of perjury and false witness) and was straitways without further examination, drawn to the gallows and hanged; as was the case between two esquires in the reign of Richard the the Second; the one of Navarre, accused an English esquire, called John Welsh, of treason; for trial thereof a day was appointed for a combat, which was to be performed in the king's palace, at Westminster: accordingly being met, there was a valiant fight betwixt them; but at last the Englishman was the conqueror, and the vanquished Frenchman, was dispoiled of his armour,* and drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged for his untruth.

Grafton's Chron. pag. 380.

The order of the combat, with the process, was as follows; the accused strongly denying the fact alledged against him, threw down his gauntlet, or any other gage; † calling the accuser a liar, and thereby challenging him to combat; then the other took up the gage of the accused, and threw down his own, declaring his willingness to prove by battle, the truth of his assertions; the gages were then sealed, and delivered to the Marshall, and leave to combat demanded of the king; which if he granted, a day and place was then appointed, by which time a scaffold was erected for the king, and his attendants, and the lists were railed round.

In the reign of Richard the Second, Henry duke of Hereford, and Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, accused each other of treason, and challenged each other

* Thus also were lords and knights disgraced, as well as by reversing their coat armour, as it was born before them, or by tearing them, or dawbing them over. Lord Audley, who was concerned in the rebellion, An. 13 Hen. 7. was taken at Black Heath field, he was drawn from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a coat of his own arms, painted on paper, reversed and torn; and there he was beheaded, Grafton, pag. 918. And the Londoners, An. 51 E. 3, in despite of John Duke of Lancaster, caused his armes (says Hollingshead) in the public streets to be reversed, as tho' he had beene a traytour, or some notorious offender. Hollingshead Chron. pag. 999.

† At the parliament (says Fabian) held upon the Wednesdaye, nexte followyng the feast of St. Symonde and St. Jude, (the first year of Henry the Fourth) the lozde Mozly appealed to the cayle of Salesbuzye of treason, and caste his hoode for a gage to tize with him by batayle, and the other caste his gloves for a gage, to pzove his sayeng false and untzewe, which weze theze sealed, and delybezed unto the Lozde Marshall. Fabian's Chronicle, vol. 2, fol. 165.

other to combat; and having obteined licence of the king, all things neceſſary were immediately prepared; and on the day appointed, the duke of Aumerle, high conſtable of England, and the Duke of Surry, marſhall, firſt entered the liſts, with a great company of men, every one of which bore a *tipped ſtaff*, to keep the field in order. Then came the duke of Hereford, the appellant, compleatly armed, in rich attire, and mounted on a ſtately white courier; the conſtable and marſhal came to the barrier of the liſts, and demanded who he was; he anſwered, "I am Henry of Lancaſter, duke of Hereforde, whiche am come hither to do my devoir againſt Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolke, as a traitor untrue to God, the king his realme and me; then incontinently he ſware upon the holy evangeliſts, that his quarrel was juſt and true, and thereupon he required to enter the liſts:" he alſo further ſwore, that "he delt with no witche craft, nor arte magicke, whereby he might obtayne the victory of his adverſarie; nor had about him any herb, or ſtone, or other kind of experiment, with which magitians uſe, to triumph over theyr enimies." This ceremony being performed, he put up his ſword, which before he held naked in his hand, and putting down his viſor, making a croſs upon his horſe, and with his ſpear in his hand he entered the liſts; and deſcending from his horſe, ſat down in a chair of green velvet, at one end of the liſts, and there repoſed himſelf, waiting the coming of his adverſary: ſoon after the king entered the field in great triumph, attended by all the peers of the realm, and above ten thouſand men in armour, leſt any quarrel might ariſe among the nobles of either party: a king at arms then made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, of the high conſtable, and of the marſhall, to approach or touch any part of the liſts, on pain of death; except ſuch as were appointed to order and marſhall the field. This proclamation ended, another herald cried, "Beholde here Henry of Lancaſter, duke of Hereforde, appellant, whiche is entered into the liſtes royal, to do his devoir againſte Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolke, defendant, upon pain to be founde falſe and recreant." Then came the duke of Norfolk, defendant, to the barrier, compleatly armed, and likewiſe richly attired, mounted on a good horſe: he alſo anſwering who he was, and taking oath, as the duke of Hereford had done before him, entered the liſts; then alighting from his horſe, he ſat himſelf down in his chair; which was crimſon velvet, trimmed with white and red damaſk. The lord marſhall viewed their ſpears, to ſee that they were of equal length, and delivered the one ſpeare himſelf to the duke of Hereford, and ſent the other to the duke of Norfolk, by a knight. Then the herald proclaimed that the traverſes, and chairs of the champions ſhould be removed, and commanded them in the name of the king to mount their horſes, and addreſs themſelves to the combat: the duke of Hereford was ſoon mounted, and cloſed his viſor, and caſt his ſpear into the reſt; and when the trumpets ſounded, he ſet forward couragiouſly to meet his enemy; but ere the duke of Norfolk had well ſet forward, the king caſt down his warder, and the heralds cried, ho, ho; and ſo the combat was prevented, by the king's taking the matter into his own conſideration, to give judgment as he ſhould think meet: but in other caſes, as the combat fought at Weſtminſter, between Sir John Anneſly, knight, and one Thomas Katrington, Eſq; who was accuſed of treaſon by the above named knight,

Hollingſh. Chron. pag. 1100.

Ibid, pag. 1017.

Ibid. 1100.

Ibid.

knight, after the former ceremonies had paſſed the champions made their prayers devoutly, and begun the battle; firſt with ſpears, after with ſwords, and laſtly with daggers: till at length the knight had bereaft the eſquire of all his weapons, and then cloſing together, the eſquire was manfully overthrown: and while they were grapling on the ground, the king commanded them to be parted; but the knight begged of the king to let them be replaced, as they were at the time of parting them; that is, himſelf on the ground undermoſt, and the eſquire upon him, which was granted; but the eſquire through heat, and the weight of his armour, fainted, and notwithſtanding all the efforts uſed to bring him to himſelf, he was obliged to be ſtripped of his armour; which thing proved him vanquiſhed; ſo the knight was acquitted with honour, and the eſquire by death prevented his further ſhame and diſgrace.

The puniſhment of impoſtors and pretenders to aſtrological predictions, were various; one of which is related by Hollingſhead in the following manner: "A lewde fellowe (in the 6th year of Richard the Second) who tooke upon hym to bee ſkilful in phiſicke and aſtronomy, and cauſed it to bee publiſhed thorough the citie of London, that uppon the Aſcention even, there would riſe ſuch a peſtilente planet, that all thoſe whyche came abroade foorthe of theyr chambers, before they hadde ſaydde fyve tymes the Lordes prayer, then commonly called the *pater noſter*, and dyd not eate ſomewhat that morning before theyr going foorthe, ſhoulde bee taken with ſickneſſe, and ſuddaynely dye thereof. Many fooles beleeved him, and obſerved hys order; but the nexte daye, when hys preſumptuous lying coulde be no longer faced out, he was ſet on horſebacke, with his face towardes the tayle, which hee was compelled to holde in hys hande in ſtead of a bridell, with two jorden pottes about hys necke, and a whetſtone, in token that hee had well deſerved it, for the notable lye which he had made." Hollingſhead, page 1038.

And Stow tells us, that one Roger Bolingbrooke, (in the ſecond year of Henry the Sixth) being accuſed of necromancy, and endeavouring by diabolical arts to conſume the king's perſon, he was ſeized upon, and all his inſtruments of necromancy, that is to ſay, "a chayre paynted, wherein he was wont to ſit, upon the four corners of whiche chayre ſtood four ſwords, and upon every ſword an image of copper, hanging, with many other inſtruments. He ſtoode on a high ſcaffolde in Paules Church Yard, before the croſſe, holding a ſword in his right hand, and a ſceptre in his left, arrayed in a marvellous attire; while a ſermon was preached by Maiſter Law, biſhop of Rocheſter; which being ended, he abjured all articles belonging to necromancy, or miſſowning to the chriſtian faith, in the preſence of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the cardinall of Wincheſter, and many other prelates." Others who were accuſed of witchcraft, were hanged; but the moſt common puniſhment (particularly in the later reigns) was burning them alive. Stow's Chron. p. 381.

It was extremely dangerous in theſe days of ſuperſtition, to pretend to any ſupernatural knowlege; for every one not only believed in the appearances of devils and evil ſpirits, but alſo firmly credited, that they would conſtantly aid and aſſiſt their agents, the necromancers, to do miſchief. No contagion could happen among the cattle of a farmer, but the devil was the cauſe, and ſome conjuror was ſought out; ſo that if any wretched vagabonds of fortune tellers could be found, they were inſtantly accuſed of this horrid crime, and perhaps burnt alive; when the utmoſt extent of their pretended ſkill and cunning, was but the rifling the pockets of the gaping, credulous multitude.

Traitors

Traytors were drawn upon hurdles to the gallows, then hanged up for a little ſpace, and let down and quartered; and their quarters were ſet up in the moſt conſpicuous parts of the towns, and cities; but if the malefactor was a nobleman, he was beheaded inſtead of being hanged. * Some were dragged by the heels, at the horſes tail, to the place of execution.

Hollingſ. page 1076.

The wilful murderer was juſtly excluded from all mercy; nay, Hollingſhead informs us, that in the 14th year of Richard the Second, there was an act made, againſt thoſe that committed any wilful murder; that none ſhould preſume to ſue for their pardon; a duke, or archbiſhop, ſo ſueing, ſhould forfeit to the king one hundred pounds; and if any earl, or biſhop, he ſhould forfeit one hundred marks," If this horrid crime, was attended with cruelty, or any other aggravation, the priſoner was hanged in chains alive, near to the place where the fact was committed; * but in caſes where any mercy could be ſhewed, they were firſt ſtrangled, and then hung up with a chain of iron to the gallows, where they were left hanging, till they were quite conſumed; and thus were all malefactors ſerved, who were hanged, till the time of Edward the Second; in whoſe reign, a law was made, that every malefactor hanged for theft, or crimes of like nature, ſhould be cut down as ſoon as they were dead, and buried; whereas before that time (ſays Grafton) they were wont to be left ſtill hanging. Perjury was puniſhed by the pillory, and burning in the forehead with the letter P, with loſs of all their moveables. Many offences were puniſhed by cutting off both ears, as ſeditious perſons, fraymakers, &c. Petty rogues were burnt through the ears. And ſuch as ſtole ſheep, and carried them out of the land, had their hands cut off. † Heretics were cruelly burnt alive,

Polydore Vergil. Holling. 874 Grafton, page 203. Holingſ. deſcrip. Bri. page 107.

Harlots and bawds, were puniſhed by ducking in the water, or doing open penance: thus Jane Shore, in the firſt year of Richard the Third, did penance as a proſtitute, walking before a croſs, on a Sunday at proceſſion, with a lighted taper in her hand; and bare-footed, haveing only her kirtle on. William Hampton, mayor of London, the year of our Lord, 1472, " corrected ſore" (ſays Fabian) bawdes, and ſtrumpettes; and cauſed them to be ladde about the towne with raye heddes, upon theyr heddes;" notwithſtanding he might have taken 40 pounds ready money; which was offerred to ſave one of them from judgement. This mayor alſo (ſays Stow) cauſed ſtockes to be ſet in every warde; and (ſays the ſame author) Robert Baſſet, mayor of London, in the 16th year of Edward the Fourth, " did ſharpe

Sir Thomas More's hiſt. of king Richard 3d. Grafton, page 783. Fabian's Chronicle page 221.

Stowes ſummarie of the Eng. Chron. page 227.

* Sir Roger Chamberlayn Knight, Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, and Arthur Turſey, Eſqs; with Richard Needham, Gent. (were in the 25th year of Henry the Sixth) condemned of high treaſon, and had this (ſays Speed) unexampled puniſhment. They were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, hanged, let downe quick, ſtriped naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a charter of pardon, ſhewed for their lives, by the Marqueſs of Suffolk; but the yeomen of the crown, had their livelyhood, and the executioner their cloathes. Speed's Chronicle, page 830.

* Poiſoners were ſcalded to death in melted lead, or boiling water. Hollingſhead deſcrip. Brit. page 107.

† In the 20th year of Edward the Firſt, three men had their right hands ſtriken off at the wriſts, in the *Weſt-Cheap*, London, for reſcuing a priſoner, under the arreſt of an officer. Grafton's Chronicle, vol. 2, page 170. And the hand of John Davy, a ſervant, of king Edward the Fourth, was ſtricken off, at the ſtandard in *Chepe*, becauſe he had ſtricken a man within the king's palace, at Weſtminſter. Fabian's Chronicle, vol. 2, page 207.

ſharpe correction upon bakers for making bread light of weight, * he cauſed divers of them to be put on the pillory; as alſo one *Agnes Daintie*, for ſelling of mingled butter."

Scolds were ducked on ducking ſtools, in the water. Holl. Def. Brit. p. 107.

One thing that muſt not here eſcape our notice, is the gallows, uſed in the reign of Henry the Sixth, ſee the 6th plate of this volume, fig. 22; the top, like the beam of a pair of ſcales, is made to move up and down; at one end thereof hangs a halter, and at the other end is a large weight: when any criminal was to be executed, the halter was drawn down; which being put round his neck was let looſe, and the weight at the oppoſite end raiſed, and ſuſpended him from the ground.

The pillory was juſt the ſame as it is at preſent: in the ſtatutes of Edward the Firſt, it is enacted, that every pyllory, or *ſtretchneck*, ſhould be made of convenient ſtrength, ſo that execution might be done upon offenders, without peril of their bodies. Statute of E. 1.

In the firſt year of Edward the Second, was the following ſtatute made,— Vide the book entit. The Great Charter, fol. 163.

" *Concerning priſoners whiche breke the pryſon, oure ſoverayne Lorde the Kynge wylleth and commaundeth, that from hensforth he that hath broken his pryſon, ſhall not have ponyſhemente of lyfe, or membre, for breakynge of the pryſon onely, excepte the matter, or cauſe for which he was impryſoned, and taken, dyd require ſuch judgment: yf he had ben convycte thereupon, after the lawe and cuſtome of the realme, al be it that in tymes paſſed it hath ben done and uſed otherwyſe.*

Marine Affairs, Shipping, &c. of the ENGLISH.

As in the former æra, we found the Normans improving upon the ſhipping of the Saxons, and extending their commerce; ſo now we find the Engliſh ſtill advancing with haſty ſtrides to that perfection, which within this laſt two centuries has ſhone ſo brightly.

The chief Veſſels of the Engliſh were theſe:
Large Sailing ſhips, *Galleys*, *Barges*, *Balingers*, and other ſmall craft, as *Skiffs*, and *Ship-boats*, *Wherrys*, &c.

The *large ſailing ſhip*, in the time of Richard the Second, as taken from a MS. (written and illuminated at the latter end of his reign) like thoſe of the Normans, hath only one maſt, and but one ſail: (ſee plate 4, fig. 17 of this vol.) they differ in two reſpects from the Norman veſſels; in the firſt place the ſhrouds in this are made faſt on either ſide of the ſhip, while thoſe of the former æra, run from the top of the maſt, to the head and ſtern of the veſſel; and, ſecondly, in this, the ſtern is flat behind, and the head comes up ſharp before, whereas thoſe of the Normans are alike, both at the head and ſtern.

But

* In the great charter it is ordered, that there ſhould be but one meaſure for wine, and one for corn throughout the kingdom, and that according to the *quarter* of London: and one breadth of dyed cloth, ruſſets and *hauberjectes*: that is to ſay, two yards within the liſts; and the weights ſhall be under the ſame regulations with the meaſures. Magna Charta, cap. 32.

But we find the ſhip improved in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Sixth (ſee plate 4, fig. 14, of this volume) here the decking over appears more perfect, and the bowſprit is added; but that I muſt own does not appear to be of any very great uſe.

An old poet who lived in the reign of Henry the Sixth, deſcribes certain veſſels toſſed and damaged in a ſtorm, in the following words:

MS. in the Harl. Libr. No. 4690.

And brake her ſchyppes maſte & ore
And alle ther tacle leſſe and more
Bowſprete ancre and rother
Ropes cables doun and oother.

theſe ſhould ſeem to be only gallieys, by the mention made of oars.

But let us paſs on, and view the more ſtately veſſels in the latter end of that king's days, as well as during the reign of Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh; ſee plate 55 and 56, of this vol. here we have four maſts; the main maſt, the fore maſt, and two hinder maſts: to each a ſail, and a bowſprit.

The forecaſtle, and the cabbin in the ſtern, are like two towers, whoſe communication in the middle, is as it were the baſe court to two monſtrous keeps. Plate 56 of this volume repreſents a dangerous ſtorm, where all the ſails, the main ſheet excepted, are furled up. The only uſe of the bowſprit appears to be its ſerving as a holdfaſt to the foremaſt. Theſe ſhips had the advantage of ſailing with a ſide wind, ſee plate 15 of this vol. which none of thoſe exhibited heretofore could do.

Grafton's Chronicle, p. 571.

The *large ſailing ſhips* are often called *carikes*.

The *hulkes* were (as I take it) large heavy veſſels of burthen, without maſts; Grafton tells us that in the thirteenth year of Henry the Sixth, the French intending to deſtroy the haven at *Calice*, cauſed four great *hulkes*, which were loaded with large ſquare ſtones cemented and joined together with lead, to be ſunk in the harbour; but this being done when there was a full ſea, they were ſo ill placed, that at low water they were left dry upon the ſands; then thoſe within the town iſſued forth, and carried the timber and ſtones into the town for their own uſe.

Addit. of Polychron. pag. 409, chap. 14.

Beſides the *galleys*, Caxton (in his addition to the Polychronicon) mentions *gallyetis*, which very likely were a ſmaller ſort of *galleys*.

Barges were large heavy boats, chiefly uſed to tranſport the ſoldiers over rivers, or elſe to make bridges; or at ſieges to raiſe ſcaffolds upon; ſee page 47 of this volume.

The *Balinger* was a ſmall ſailing veſſel.

They had *crayers*, or *fiſhing boats*, and various other *boats*, one of which from a MS. illuminated in the reign of Henry the Sixth, is exhibited plate 4, fig. 16, of this volume, this is very handſome, and has a rudder behind, but the places for the oars on the ſides, do not appear.

The *ſhip boat*, plate 27 of this vol. ſeems very ſtrong and compact.

Stow's Chron. pag. 356.

Beſides the above-mentioned craft, they had (in time of war) light *boats*, framed with wicker or thin timber, covered over with leather; theſe they carried with them in their wars abroad, the more readily to paſs the waters that might

might happen in their way as they were on their marches. Such were the *naiſſelles*, (mentioned by Froiſſart) carried over into France in the wars by Edward the Third. They were, (ſays he) "Faittes et ordonnees ſy ſoubtillement de cuir bouilly," *made ſo artfully with prepared or boiled leather*, that each would eaſily hold three men therein to fiſh or take their pleaſure. So alſo, ſays Hollingſhead, king Henry the Fifth, againſt his ſecond expedition into France, made great preparations for the war, providing "*boates* covered with *leather* to paſſe over rivers." Froiſſart's Chronicle vol. 2. Hollingſhead, 1171.

Engagements upon the Sea.

The navys of the Engliſh were very potent upon the ſeas. Froiſſart has been very particular in the deſcription of a ſea fight between the French and the Engliſh, in the 14th year of Edward the Third. The following is an exact tranſlation of his very words:

Froiſſart's Chron. v. 1.

The king of France, with more than 240 great ſhips, beſides multitudes of ſmaller craft, * with at leaſt 40,000 fighting men, Normans, Picardeans, Bretons, and Genoeſe, lay at anchor near Leſluſe, waiting for the Engliſh fleet, which was to paſs that way. The king of England (whoſe fleet conſiſted of 200 ſhips well armed) being come up with them, cauſed all his veſſels to be put in proper order, placing his largeſt and ſtrongeſt ſhips in the front, with archers in all parts of the fleet, that is, between every two ſmaller ſhips of archers, was placed a large ſhip of cloſe armed men; and then he arranged another battle of archers entirely on the ſide, to ſuccour occaſionally ſuch as ſhould ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance.

The fleet thus ranged in order, they drew all their ſails the contrary way, and came on a ſide wind, that they might have the advantage of the ſun which before ſhone full in their faces. When the haughty Normans ſaw them turning about, they vainly imagined they were preparing for flight, and ſaid, tauntingly, Ah, ha, theſe are not warriors bold enough to encounter with us! But the Engliſh ſoon to their coſt convinced them, how much they dared to do; for having turned about to the other ſide, they bore down full upon them. This when the Normans ſaw, and found by the royal banner, that the king of England was there in perſon, they ſet their ſhips in order, (for, ſays my author, they were hardy men, and uſed to war.) They placed a great ſhip, called Chriſtopher, (that the foregoing year had been taken from the Engliſh) full in the front, which with great ſhoutings, and the noiſe of pipes, trumpets, and various other warlike inſtruments, came forward towards the Engliſh, and then began the battle fiercely and terrible: from all ſides flew the death-dealing weapons, from the long bows of the Engliſh, the croſs bows of the enemy, and the javelins darted by the hands of the furious warriors; but ſtill coming cloſer and cloſer, the men of arms began the cruel combat hand to hand; the which the better to effect, they had on either ſide large iron cramps faſtened with ſtrong chains; theſe were thrown over the ſides of the veſſels, and drew them cloſe up ſide to ſide: the carnage then was horrible and cruel, for death and deſtruction raged on every ſide.

Sea

* Speed ſays the whole number amounted to full 400 veſſels.

Sea engagements (continues my author) are much more bloody than thoſe on land, becauſe all retreat was ſo eaſily cut off. Here was re-taken the Chriſtopher, that great and noble veſſel, and all ſlain who guarded her. With a great cry, and dreadful noiſe, the Engliſhmen approached in the moſt hardy manner; and having filled this veſſel with archers of their own, they bore down with her to encounter the Genoeſe: ſo that in the end, the whole fleet of the Frenchmen was overthrown, and full 200 veſſels were taken, and 30,000 of their ſoldiers ſlain. The Engliſh annals boaſt not of a victory more worthy note than this.

Froiſſart vol. 4.

In the reign of Richard the Second, there was an engagement between the Engliſh, (commanded by the earl of Arundel, and the biſhop of Norwich) and the Flemiſh under the command of John Bucq. The Engliſh (ſays Froiſſart) had ſeveral galleys, the which were well armed with bowmen; theſe firſt began the fight, ſhooting their arrows, yet they did but little damage, for the Flemmans ſtooping down, were enſhrouded by the borders of the veſſel, and the arrows flew over their heads, while they keeping carefully before the wind, the croſs bowmen, who were on their ſide, (out of the reach of the Engliſh arrows) with their quarrels advantageouſly ſhot forth, did great execution. Then approached the earl of Arundel, and the biſhop of Norwich, with the great ſhips, ſtrongly oppoſing the Flemiſh fleet; but they, ſpirited up by their admiral, made a courageous reſiſtance. The admiral himſelf was in a great ſhip, ſtrongly armed with three *cannons*, which caſt forth darts ſo long and large, that they cauſed dreadful hurt and damage whereſoever they fell: but the Engliſh getting the victory, took the ſhip and the admiral; mean while the ſmaller ſhips and merchant-men got to the ſhore, and ſaved themſelves by the ſhallowneſs of the water; but all the reſt were either taken or deſtroyed.

Vide Deſcrip. of the Plates.

Plate 42 of this vol. repreſents an engagement between Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and two great French carikes. The earl's ſhip has his arms quartered on the ſail, and on the ſtreamer his badge, the bear and ragged ſtaff: the ſpace between the forecaſtle and cabbin at the ſtern, is filled with Engliſh archers; and on the enemy's part, with their croſs bowmen; alſo in the galleries on the tops of the maſts, are men appointed to caſt down darts and ſtones upon the enemy below. On the forecaſtle of earl Richard's ſhip, is an archer aiming at the man who appears in the gallery on the maſt of the oppoſite ſhip; while the other with a ſtone in his hands, (in the middle) is transfixed with an arrow: and on the forecaſtle of the front carike, is a man of arms, with his ſpear and ſhield, ready to ſtrike at the archers in the earl's veſſel. The cannons are pointed over the ſide of the ſhip, but do not appear to be of uſe in the cloſe battle.

At their ſea engagements alſo they uſed the wild fire, deſcribed page 31 of this volume. Thus Harding, ſpeaking of the Spaniards, in the time of Henry the Fifth, ſays,

Harding's Chron. ch. 216, fol. 212

Wherefore their galeys, erhe day ther gan us ſynd,
With ores many, about us they dyd wynd;
With wyld fyre oft aſſayled us day and night
To brenne our ſhippes in that they could or might.

They often ornamented their ſhips with painting and gilding. Thus, ſays Froiſſart, ſpeaking of the French fleet, prepared for the invaſion of England, in the

the tenth year of Richard the Second, the ſhips were painted with their arms, and gilt, with banners, penons, and ſtandards made of ſilk; the maſts of their ſhips were alſo painted from the top to the bottom, glittering with gold. Nay, ſays my author, lord Guy of Tremoyll, ſo decked, garniſhed, and beautified his ſhip, that the painting and colours coſt him 2000 franks of French money, which (ſays Grafton) made more than 222 pounds of the current money of England. King Henry the Fifth, when he went his ſecond expedition into France, was in a ſhip, the ſails whereof were of purple, and embroidered with gold. And fig. 15, plate 4, repreſents a royal ſhip; and the author of the MS. (that it is copied from) tells us, that the king (Richard the Second) is on board: the ſail is white (perhaps ſilk) richly embroidered with a golden ſun; and the various ſhips belonging to the earl of Warwick, have his arms and badge embroidered on the ſails and ſtreamers.

Grafton, page 364.

Speed's Chron. p. 787.

That the reader may have ſome idea of the fares by water, I will quote the following paſſage from Lambard's Perambulation of Kent: The inhabitants of Graveſend and Mylton, in the time of Richard the Second, agreed (ſays he) to carry in their boats from London to Graveſend, (provided none elſe were permitted) a paſſenger with his truſs or farthell, for two-pence, or otherwiſe making the whole fare or paſſage worth four ſhillings, which was agreed and permitted to them.

Lambard's Peramb. of Kent, page 486.

The extent of commerce, and the improvement in all kinds of navigation in England, are ſo well known in this preſent age, that any long comments thereon are entirely uſeleſs. I ſhall only obſerve, now we have traced out the ſtate of navigation from the rude leather ſkiffs of the Britons and Saxons, to the more ſtately navys of the latter ages, we ought not to wonder at the ignorance of our anceſtors, but rather expreſs our ſurpriſe, that with ſuch indefatigable induſtry, they ſupplied the want of our more improved and perfect conveniencies. Have we not ſeen the hardy Briton, and the pirate Saxon, on the rough ſeas, fearleſs of the boiſterous winds and lowring tempeſt; and this in oſier boats patched up with leather only? Of the Anglo-Saxons, we have found one voyaging to the Frozen Ocean; another carefully exploring the wide extended Baltic Sea; and a third undaunted ſailing to the Indies. All theſe are now ('tis true) inconſiderable voyages to what have ſince been, and daily are undertaken; yet turn over the pages of theſe books, examine well the ſhips, conſider the wretched ſtate of marine affairs, and, to complete the whole, their total ignorance of the compaſs; and then the ſurpriſe will not be that they went no farther, but how they got ſo far. In ſhort, ſetting all things in a proper light, and attending well to all the diſadvantages they laboured under, our anceſtors will appear in a very favourable point of view: we ſhall admire their aſſiduity, we ſhall praiſe their courage, and find ourſelves eternally obliged to them for the vaſt pains they took to point out the way to all our more modern arts and improvements.

Vide vol. I, p. 6.

Ibid. p. 22.

Ibid. p. 73.

Husbandry, &c. of the Engliſh.

The plough has undergone but few, and thoſe trifling alterations, even to the preſent time; in ſhort, the only improvement ſeems to be the coulter, that preceeds the plough ſhare, which has been ſince added; the very ſame may be ſaid of

of the other neceſſary implements of huſbandry, as harrows, rollers, forks, ſcythes, ſickles, rakes, carts and waggons, &c. which differ ſo little from thoſe we now have in uſe, that the figures of them were thought entirely unneceſſary to be added here.

It is well known that the kings in former time, gave the lands of this kingdom to the lords, to be holden of them in chief; and they again parcelled ſuch lands out to their tenants; for which the lords did homage to the king, and the freemen to their lords; and the villain, (one who held by ſervile tenure) did fealty in the following manner: when a freeman ſhall do homage to his lord, *(ſays the old ſtatute made in the ſeventeenth year of Edward the Second)* of whom he holdeth in chief, he ſhall hold his hands together, between the hands of his lord, and ſhall ſay thus, Ieo de vienie voſtre homme de ceſt houre en avaunt, de vie & de membres, & de terre honour, & foy vous porteray, du tenement qy ieo vous cleyme tener de vous; ſauve le foy quy ieo doy noſtre ſeygneur le Roy, eames autres ſeyenages." *I become your man from this day fourth, for life, and member; and owe you true honour and faith, for the lands that I hold of you; ſaving the faith that I owe to our ſovereign lord the king, and to my other lords.*

MS. in my own poſſeſſion. Vide an old book entit. Great Charter, printed by Petit, An. 1542, fol. 141.

When a freeman ſhall do fealty to his lord, he ſhall hold his right hand upon a book, and ſay, Ceo oye vous moun ſeygneur R, qy ieo W, ſara feal et leal, et fay vous portezay, del tener qy ieo cleyme tener de vous; & leziment vous fray les duites, et les cuſtumes, qy feze vous doy, a les termes aſſignes. ſi mey eyde deux & ces ſeynts. *Hear you this my lord* R. *that I* W. *promiſe to be faithful and true to you, and owe you my fidelity, for the land that I hold of you; and lawfully will do ſuch cuſtoms and ſervices as are due to you, at the terms aſſigned; ſo help me God, and all the ſaints.*

When a villian ſhall do fealty to his lord, he ſhall hold his right hand upon the book, and ſay, Ceo oyes vous moun ſeygneur R, qy ieo W, de ceo iour en avaunt vous ſaray feal, & leal, et foy vous porteray del tenement qy ieo treugis de vous, en vilenage; & juſtifable ſeray a vous de cors, & de chateaux; ſi mey eide deux & ſes ſeyns, &c. *Hear you this my lord* R, *that I* W, *promiſe from this day forth to be true, and faithful unto you, and owe you my fealty for the lands which I do hold in villianage of you, and will be juſtifiable in body and goods, ſo help me God, and all his ſaints.*

The taxes were levied upon the land holders (for the ſupport of the king and government) at ſo much for every hide of land which they poſſeſſed; * and this tax was not regularly fixed, but raiſed or leſſened according to the wants of the king and government: thus writes the old poet Harding, in the reign of William Rufus.

Harding's Chron. chap. 125.

Great tallage of England, then was raiſed
In ſo fer forth, that tilthe of land was layd
Of whiche ſued miſchief, nothing praiſed
Fyr faute of food, morayn of beſtiol fraied
And death of people, for hunger ſore araied.

And

* A hyde of lande (ſays Hollingſhead) includeth an hundred acres, and an acre conteyneth fortie perches in length, and four in breadth, the length of a pearch conteyneng ſixteene foote and an halfe; ſo that the common acre ſhould conteyne 240 perches, and eight hydes, or 800 acres is a knighte's fee, after the beſt approved writers, and playne demonſtration. Hollingſhead's Chronicle, vol. 2, page 312.

And he after adds,

A kyng woteth not what harmeth huſbandry,
Houſband to pil, and tax outragiouſly.

Before the time of Henry the Firſt, the kings of this land uſed to receive the taxes in kine as they wanted, and not in money, as they did afterwards; "for ſays Gervaſius Tilberienſis, (who flouriſhed in the days of Henry the Second) untill the time of king Henry the Firſt, the kings uſed not to receive money of their lands, but victuals, for the neceſſary proviſion of their houſe. And towards the payment of the ſoldiers wages, and ſuch like charges, money was raiſed out of the cities and caſtles, in the which huſbandry and tillage was not exerciſed. But at the length, when as the king, being in the partes beyond the ſeas, needed ready money, towarde the furniture of his warres, and his ſubjects, the farmers, complained that they were grievouſly troubled by carriage of victuals into ſundry parts of the realme, farre diſtant from their dwelling houſes: then the king directed commiſſions to certaine diſcrete perſons, who (having regarde of the value of ſuch victuals) ſhould reduce them into reaſonable ſummes of money: the levying of which ſummes, they appointed to the Sherife, takeing order withall, that he ſhoulde pay ſixepence over and above every pound waight of money, becauſe they thought that money in time would waxe ſo much the worſe for the wearing." Lambard's tranſlation in his Perambulation of Kent, p. 214.

As in the former chapters upon this ſubject, we have ſeen the method of ſowing and producing the corn, in this we will enquire into the prices it bore in the various reigns; as alſo the reaſons of ſuch amazing ſcarcities as often happened in the kingdom. In the third year of William the Firſt, there was ſo great a dearth of corn in England, (eſpecially in the counties of Northumberland and thoſe adjoining) that the people were reduced to the moſt horrid extremities; for, ſays Stow, all the land betwixt Durham and York, (except the territory of St. John of Beverley) lay waſte, untilled, and without inhabitants, for the ſpace of nine years. From this time however, either through the temperance of the ſeaſons, or better attention to huſbandry, they ſeemed to enjoy a tollerable plenty for ſome conſiderable time. Nay, in the black book of the Exchequer, we find that in the reign of Henry the Firſt, when they reduced the victuals (for the king's houſhold) to the eſtimate of money, a meaſure of wheat to make bread for the ſervice of one hundred men, one day, was valued only at one ſhilling; the carcaſe of a fat ox for the ſame; a fine ſheep for four-pence; and the provender for twenty horſes at four-pence alſo. At this rate there muſt either have been a vaſt plenty of proviſion, or a great ſcarcity of money. Then how dreadfully muſt that dearth have been felt in the eighth year of king John, when on account of a ſevere froſt the year before, a quarter of wheat ſold for a mark of ſilver, which in the greater part of the reign of Henry the Second, ſold only for one ſhilling, and other things, as beans, peas and oats, in proportion? Stowe, page 111. Stow's Chron pag. 167.

But in the reign of Henry the Third, about the 43d year, the price was mounted up to fifteen and twenty ſhillings a quarter; and what was ſtill worſe, even at that exorbitant price, not half enough could be got to ſupply the nation. Fabian, vol. 2, p. 30.

Edward the Second, ſay the Chronicles, endeavoured to alleviate the grievances of the people, (in the eighth year of his reign) by iſſuing forth his writs, and MS. in the Harl. Lib. No. 53.

and ſettling the aſſize for all kinds of proviſion; as that a fat ox, ſtall fed, ſhould not at any time be ſold for more than twenty-four ſhillings; nor one graſs fed for more than ſixteen; and a fat cow for ten: a ſwine well fed, of two years growth, for two ſhillings and ſixpence; a fat ſheep for one ſhilling and two-pence; a gooſe for two-pence; and a hen for three halfpence; three pigeons for two-pence; and twenty eggs for one penny. This act was very far from producing the deſired effect, for in the ninth year of his reign, there was ſo great a famine, that a quarter of wheat was ſold for one pound eight ſhillings, which was a monſtrous price; and not only wheat was now dear, but all kinds of other proviſion as well; for when the price was ſo much reduced as it was in the foregoing year, ſuch quantities were then bought up and conſumed, that the poor ſoon felt the dreadful effects of that very act which they ſo ardently had wiſhed ſhould be made, and it was ſoon repealed, for ere a few months had paſſed, there was no proviſion of any ſort to be got at any rate whatever. But in the eleventh year, owing to a plentiful ſeaſon, wheat then ſold for ten-pence a buſhel, which before fetched ten ſhillings; and a buſhel of oats for eight-pence, which the preceding year was worth eight ſhillings. But ſoon after it began to grow dear again, and ſo continued conſtantly increaſing, that (ſays Caxton) forty years after the death of Edward the Second, a buſhel of wheat ſold for ten ſhillings, which in the former reign was worth no more than three-pence. But in the reign of Richard the Second, plenty began again to ſhine upon them; for in the third year a buſhel of wheat ſold for four-pence and ſixpence; a gallon of white wine for ſixpence; and of red for four-pence: and thus continued till the fourteenth year, when a buſhel of wheat was worth thirteen-pence: and ſuch plenty was again in the beginning of the 21ſt year of the ſame king, that a quarter of barley ſold for only one ſhilling. But again we find the price of corn advancing from this time, for in the ſecond year of Henry the Fourth, a quarter of wheat ſold for ſixteen ſhillings; but a great plenty being brought from Normandy, the diſtreſſes of the people were much alleviated: and in the 16th, 17th, and 18th years of Henry the Sixth, the wet and bad weather cauſed ſuch a ſcarcity of corn, that wheat ſold from half a crown to three ſhillings and four-pence a buſhel; ſo that the poor people made them bread of fern and oats.

Stow's Chron, page 218.

Ibid. 219.

Addit. to Polychron. chap. 38. fol. 380.

Stow's Chron. page 282. Hollingſ. page 1076. Stow 300.

Caxton Addit. to Polychron. Hollingſ. 1263. Grafton, 592. Stow 377.

In the 24th year of the ſame prince, an act of parliament was paſſed, permitting the farmer, when wheat ſold for ſix ſhillings and eight-pence the quarter, and rye for four ſhillings, and barley for three, to export it without any further licence, except it was to the king's enemy. In the ſecond year of Henry the Seventh, wheat was ſold for three ſhillings the buſhel: but ſo much reduced was the price in the 25th year of his reign, that a quarter of wheat was worth but forty ſhillings. From this ſhort and general account of the prices of wheat, we may ſee the amazing fluctuation thereof. This will naturally lead us to conſider the reaſons, which in principal are theſe: Firſt, the vaſt parcels of land that in different parts of the kingdom lay uſeleſs and untilled: and ſecondly, whenever they had a plentiful harveſt, ſuch great quantities of corn were inſtantly bought up at a low rate, and exported, that if a bad ſeaſon enſued, the dreadful conſequence was, that the nation was ſoon in a ſtarving condition for the want of all ſorts of grain; and the only remedies attempted, were ſuch as could not afford any further at beſt, than a temporal relief; as we have ſeen in the inſtance of that aſſize, made for proviſion, by Edward the Second.

Ibid. 471, et 481.

The

The Londoners alſo did what they could, by eſtabliſhing a very good law, in the ninth year of Edward the Second; for at that time great quantities of wheat were made into malt, which they forbid for the future, in the precincts of the city, when wheat ſhould be dear; and the king judging that the ſtatute was worthy his obſervation, iſſued forth his mandamus, prohibiting in all parts of the kingdom that they ſhould make any malt of wheat from that time forward: but it ſhould ſeem that this practice was afterwards uſed, as appears from an old receipt for the making of beer, taken from the ancient Chronicle of London. It runs thus, Stow's Chron. 218.

To bryewe beer,
10 quarteys of malte,
2 quarteys of wheete,
2 quarteys of oates,
40 pounde weyght of hoppys,—to make 60 bazellys of ſongyl beer; the bazel of aell conteynens 32 galones, & the bazell of beer 36 galones. Chronicles of London.

Now let us paſs on to ſome other matters. John, in the firſt year of his reign, made a law, that a tun of Rochell wine ſhould not be ſold for more than twenty ſhillings; a tun of wine from Anjou for twenty-three ſhillings; and a tun of French wine for twenty-five ſhillings, except ſome that might be of the very beſt ſort, which was allowed to be raiſed to twenty-ſix ſhillings and four-pence, but not for more in any caſe. By retail, a gallon of Rochell wine was to be ſold for four-pence, and a gallon of white wine for ſixpence, and no dearer. He alſo ordained in every city and town where wine was ſold, that twelve creditable men ſhould be ſworn, to examine into and ſee that the above ſtatute ſhould not be broken: and if any vintner ſhould be found guilty of ſelling wine by ſmaller meaſures than by this aſſize were eſtabliſhed, he was to be impriſoned, and his goods forfeited to the king. In the 9th year of Edward the Second, things being very ſcarce, a gallon of ſmall ale was ſold for two-pence, of the better ſort for three-pence, and of the beſt for four-pence; but the Londoners ordained, that (in the city) a gallon of the bettermoſt ſort of ale ſhould be ſold for three halfpence, and of the ſmall ale for one penny only. In the 16th year of Henry the Sixth, was as great ſcarcity of all proviſions; wine was ſold for twelve-pence the gallon; bay ſalt at fourteen-pence the buſhel; and malt at thirteen ſhillings and four-pence per quarter, which was then held as a great price. Stow's Chron. page 165. Ibid. p. 218. Holling-ſhead, 1263.

In the 25th year of Henry the Seventh, there was ſo great a quantity of Gaſcoigne wine brought to London, that it was ſold for forty ſhillings the tun; and in the ſame year a buſhel of bay ſalt ſold for four-pence. Here we will add, as it were in addition to what has been ſaid in the Norman Æra, page 14, that in the aſſize for bread, according to the ſtatute made in the 51ſt year of Henry the Third, when a quarter of wheat was ſold for twelve-pence; the farthing loaf of *waſtel bread* ſhould weigh ſix pounds ſixteen ounces; and the farthing loaf of *cocket bread*, of the ſame corn and boulting, ſhould weigh more than the *waſtel* by two ounces; the ſame made of corn of leſs price, ſhould weigh more by five ounces; a ſymnel of a farthing ſhould weigh leſs by two ounces than the *waſtel*; *bread* of *trete* ſhould weigh two *waſtels*; and *bread* of *common wheat* ſhould weigh two great *cockets*. According to this plan was ſettled the prices, regular in proportion, till twelve ſhillings the quarter was allowed for wheat; and then, Stowe's Chron. page 481. Vide Statutes. See Boo M Cl pr F

continues

continues the ſtatute, " a baker of every quarter of wheat, (as it hath ben proved by the kynges bakers) maye gayne four-pence and the bran, and two loves for avauntage; for thre ſevauntes one penny halfpenny, for two laddes a halfpenny, for ſalt a halfpenny, for knedynge a halfpenny, for candel one farthing, for woode two-pence, and for the ſifting or boulting the meal one halfpenny".

The ſame ſtatute extending to brewers alſo, tells us, " that when a quarter of wheate was ſold for three ſhillings, or three ſhillings and four-pence, and a quarter of barley at the price of twenty-pence or two ſhillings, and a quarter of oates at ſixteen-pence, then brewers in cities ought and coulde well aforde and ſell two galons of ale for one penny, and out of cities they might ſell three or four galons for a penny." And by a ſtatute made in the reign of Edward the Firſt, it was enacted," that the tolle at mylne ſhould be taken accordyng to the cuſtome of the land, and according to the ſtrength of the water courſe, eyther to the 20th or 24th parte of the corn; and the meaſure whereby the tolle ſhould be taken, ſhould be agreeable to the kynge's meaſure; and that the tolle ſhould be taken by the raſe (that is ſtruck off even from the meaſure with a ſtrike) and not by the heap or cantell: and in caſe that the fermers fynde the mylners their neceſſaries, they ſhould take nothing more than their due tolle, on pain of ſevere puniſhment." Foreſtallers alſo by the ſame act were made obnoxious to a very ſevere puniſhment.

This nation, as we have already ſeen, was long famous for its fleeces: wool was the ſtaple commodity of the kingdom, and was exported forth to the ſurrounding nations; but yet it is very extraordinary, that thus poſſeſſed of ſuch a valuable treaſure, they ſhould not have applied themſelves much ſooner to the weaving and manufacturing of it within their own dominions. Their richeſt and beſt cloths were wove abroad in Flanders, as witneſſeth Mathew of Weſtminſter, in theſe words, *Tua textrix Flandria texuit*, &c. Edward the Thlrd (the Father of his People) was the firſt who encouraged the manufacturing of wool in England; in the eleventh year of whoſe reign it was by parliament enacted, that no wool ſhould be carried out of the kingdom but ſuch as was firſt manufactured at home; and all fullers, weavers, and cloth-workers were encouraged, coming from any nation whatever, and many great and ſpecial privileges allowed them: and after, for the farther encouragement of the manufactories, an act was made prohibiting to every one in the kingdom (the king queen and their children excepted) the wearing any cloth but ſuch as ſhould be made at home in the Engliſh nation; which acts were afterwards continued by the ſucceeding kings, granting the privilege to nobles only of wearing foreign cloths. Under theſe auſpicious rays the manufactories ſtill flouriſhed and improved, till they matured to ſuch perfection as we have ſeen them in theſe latter ages.

Vide p. 12 of this Vol.

Stow's Chron. page 233.

Stow's Summarie, page 153.

Dreſs and Habits of the ENGLISH.

From the ſimplicity of the laſt age, we now paſs on to the pompous habits in the æra of the Engliſh, a ſubject which we muſt treat in a general manner, on account of the vaſt variety of different faſhions and alterations.

Camden,

Camden, in his Remains, informs us, that in the reign of Henry the Second, silk was first brought into use; "I mean (says he) *bombacyna*, made by silke wormes, which first came out of Greece into Sicile, and then into other parts of Christendome. For *sericum*, which was a doune kembed off from the trees among the *Seres*, in the East India, as *bissus* was a plant or kinde of silke grasse as they now call it were unknowne. Camden's Remains, page 232.

There was also (adds he) a costly stuffe at these times here in England, called in Latine *aurifrisium*: what it was named in English I know not, neither doe imagine it *auriphrigium*, and to signifie embroiderie with golde, as *opera phrygia* were embroderies. Whatsoever it was, much desired it was by the popes, and highly esteemed in Italie."

In the reign of Edward the First, the general wearing of furs upon their garments began to be used, whereas before these ornaments were confined to the coronation robes of the kings, and creation robes of the nobles.

Edward the Third, in the third year of his reign, when he made his public entry into Amiens, to do homage to Philip de Valois, the French king, for the Dutchie of Aquitain, was habited in a robe of crimson velvet, powdered, with golden leopards, a crown upon his head, and a sword by his side, with spurs of pure gold upon his heels: he had in his retinue many earls and barons, besides 1000 horsemen. Indeed the luxury of apparel in the beginning of his reign, is strongly marked by many satirical rhimes made at that period by the Scots. A stanza, which in derision of the English was by them fastened upon the door of St. Peter's church at Stangate, is yet preserved in our own histories. It runs thus: Speed's Chron. p. 679.

Longe beerds beteles
Peyntede whoods witles,
Gay cotes gracelees
Maketh Englonde thrifteles.

MS. Chron. penes J. Ives Esq; fol. 38, B.

For att that tyme (says an old Chronicle) the Englisshe men were clothede all in cootes, and hodes peyntede with lettres, and with flourres, and semely with longe beerdes.

About the nineteenth year of the same reign, the king (for the encouragement of military sports) established his round table at Windsor, and great numbers of foreign knights resorting hither, the English took from them such a variety of fashions and new habits, that the old monks with justice cried out shame upon them. Thus says one, The Englishmen hawnted so mothe unto the folye of strawngers, that every yere thei chaunged them in diverse schappes and disgisingges of clothengge; now longe, now large, now wide, now straite, and every day clothingges newe, and destitute and delere from alle honeste off old array, & gode usage; and a nother tyme to schorte clothes, & so streite waisted, with fulle sleves, and tapetes of cuttotes, and hodes over longe and large, alle to naggede (jagged) & knet on every side, and alle to slatteredde & also botenedde, that iff ȳ weth shalle sey, they weren more lyke to tuymentours & develes, in their clothing, and also in their schoyng, (shoeing) & other aray, than thei semed to be like menne.—And thette wymmenne (women) weren more nycely arraiedde, & passed the menne in alle maner of araies & curious clothing, for thei weredde such strete clothes, that they had long for tailes sewede with ynne their garments, to hold them forthe, for to hede their (posteriors) and then continues the author, thus exclaiming, the whiche disgisingges and pride, afterwarde brought forthe & causedde, many mischiefs & myshappes that hapned in the reme (realm) of Englond. Dowglass, monk of Glastenbury MS. in the Harliean Library, No. 4690, fol. 82.

In

Camden's Remains, p. 233.

In the year 1363, the 44th year of the ſame king Edward the Third (ſays Camden) " as the book of Worceſter reporteth, they began to uſe cappes of divers coloures, eſpecially red, with coſtly lynings; and in the year 1372, the 47th of the above prince, they firſt began to wanton it in a new round curtall weede, which they called a cloake, and in Latin *armilauſa*, as only covering the ſhoulders, and this notwithſtanding the king had endeavoured to reſtrain all theſe inordinances and expences in clothing; as appears by the law by parliament eſtabliſhed in the 36th year of his reign, " Omne ornamentum aureum ſive argenteum erat damnatum, ſcilicet in cultellis cingulis monilibus annulis, et cæteris corporum ornamentis, niſi in talibus qui poſſent per annum expendere decem libras ‖, et ut nulli pannis præcioſis, aut pellura uterentur, niſi qui poſſent expendere per annum centum libras." *All ornaments of gold or ſilver, either on the daggers, girdles, necklaces, rings, or other ornaments for the body, were forbid to all that could not ſpend ten pounds a year; and farther, that no furre or pretious and coſtly apparel, ſhould be worn by any but men poſſeſſed of* 100 *pounds a year.*

Walſingham in Vit. Edwardi Tert. fol. 173.

By way of puniſhment for the common proſtitutes, in the 27th year of this king, a ſtatute was by parliament ſet forth, forbidding, from that time forward, any known whore (ſays Stow) ſhould wear any hood, except it were reyed or ſtriped of divers colours, nor furr; but the garments reverſed, or turned the wrong ſide outward, upon pain of forfeiture of the ſame.

Stow's Chronicle p. 254.

Now paſſing on to the reign of king Richard the Second, we ſhall lament that the good ſtatutes of the foregoing reign were ſo badly attended to; the king himſelf was very ſumptuous in his apparel, as may appear from Hollingſhead, who affirms that he had (among other gorgeous ſuits) one coat which he cauſed to be made for him, of gold and pretious ſtones, valued at thirty thouſand marks; and this example was followed by his ſubjects: nay Sir John Arundel (as Hollingſhead informs us) had apparel ſo very rich and ſplendid, that (adds he) it was thought to exceed even that which was wore by the king himſelf: he had a change of no leſs than 52 new ſuits of cloth of gold tiſſue.

Hollingſ. Chronicle, p. 1110.

Ibid. 1015.

Early in the reign of this prince, began, ſays Stow, the deteſtable uſe of piked ſhoes *, tied to their knees, with chains of ſilver, gilt; alſo women uſed high attire on their heads, and piked horns, with long training gowns. The commons alſo (as recorded in the hiſtory called the Eulogium, cited by Camden) " were beſotted in exceſſe of apparell, in wide ſurcoates reaching to their loines, ſome in a garment reaching to their heeles, cloſe before, and ſtrowting out on the ſides, ſo that on the backe they make men ſeeme women, and this they called by a ridiculous name, *gowne*; their hoods are little, tied under the chin, and buttoned like the womans, but ſet with gold, ſilver and pretious ſtones: their *lirripippes* † reach to their heeles all jagged.---They have another weede of ſilke which they call a *paltock* ‡; their hoſe are of two colours, or pied, with more; § which with lachets (which

Stow's Chronicle p. 295.

See Camden's Remains, p. 233.

‖ The continuator of Adam Murimuth's hiſtory writes " 40 *libras*," which is moſt likely, Vide Adami Murmuthenſis continuatio in Vit. Edwardi Tertii.

* Theſe ſhoes are repreſented worn by the courtiers, in plate 19, of the Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities of England: ſee the account alſo of that plate p. 15, of the ſame book.

† Theſe were tippets which went round the neck, and hung down before, Vide MS. in the Harleian Library, No. 219.

‡ A cloſe jacket, like a waiſtcoat.

§ The truly ridiculous cuſtom of wearing various colours was not confined to the hoſe alone, for in many antient delineations, we meet with figures habited in garments divided in the middle, ſtrait down

(which they called *herlots*) they tie to their paltocks without any breeches. Their girdles are of gold and ſilver, ſome worth 20 marks; their ſhoes and pattens are ſnowted and piked more than a finger long, crooking upwards, which they call *crackowes*, reſembling the devil's clawes, which were faſtened to the knees with chaines of gold and ſilver, &c." Let us alſo hear what the great father of the Engliſh poets *Chaucer* hath ſaid on this ſubject: Alaſs! may not a man ſee as in our daies the ſinneſull coſtlew array of clothing, and namely in too much ſuperfluite, or elſe in too diſordinate ſcantineſſe, as to the firſt,—not only the coſt of enbraudering, the diſguyſed endenting, or bagging, ounding, playting, wynding, or bending, and ſemblable waſte of clothe in banitie.—But there is alſo the coſtlewe furringe in ther gounes, ſo much pounting of cheſel to make holes, ſo much dugging of sheres forche, with the ſuperfluitie in length of the foreſaide gounes trailing in the doug and in the myre, on hors and alſo on foote, as well of man as of woman, that all that trayling is verely as in effect waſted, conſumed, tred baze, and rotten with doung. Upon the other ſide to ſpeake of the horible diſordinate ſcantynes of clothing, as been theſe cutted ſloppes, or hauſelines *, that through their ſhortneſſe cover not the ſhamfull partes of menne."—He then continues to inveigh againſt their *hoſen*, partie coloured with *white and red*, and of other colours, as *white and blewe, or white and blacke, or blacke and red*, and ſo forth: and then continues he, "As to the outragious array of women, God wote that though the viſages of ſome of them ſeeme ful chaſte and debonaire, yet notifie in ther aray or atire, horouſneſſe and pride, &c." They had alſo about that time (ſays Camden) "a gowne called a *git* †, a jacket without ſleeves, called a *haketon* ‡, a looſe jacket like a *tabard*, a ſhort *gabbardin* §, called a *court pie*; a gorget, called a *cheveſail*, for as yet they uſed no bandes about their neck; a pouche called a *gipſer*."

Lond. Edit. print. 1598 fol. 103, in parſon's tale.

Camden's Remains 234.

But now before we take our leave of this reign, let us hear what Harding has ſaid of the rich habits of the king's train and ſervants, &c.

Ther was great pride among the officers,
And of al men ſurpaſſyng their compeers,
Of riche aray, and muche more coſtious
Then was before, or ſith, and more pretious.

Yomen and Groomes, in cloth of ſilke arayed,
Sattyn and Damaske in doublettes and gounes
In cloth of grene, and ſcarlet for unpayed.
Cut werke was great bothe in court and tounes
Bothe in mens hoddes, and alſo in their gounes,
Brouder and furres, and goldſmith werke ay newe,
In many a wyſe, eche day they did renewe.

Harding's Chron. chap. 193. fol. 194.

And

one ſide of one colour, and the other ſide quite different: the reader is referred to the Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities of England, and in plate 16 he will ſee John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, portraited in a habit one half white, the other a dark blue: alſo in plate 39, are different ſpecimens of this laughable faſhion. Nay in plate 33, of the ſame book, there is, at the right hand of the plate, a figure with a boot on one leg, and none on the other.

* *Hanſelines* or *hauſelines*, are now called breeches, but at that time they were only trowſers, and thoſe here mentioned muſt have been ſo ſhort, that they tying at the hips, could not reach farther than the middle of the thigh, at moſt, then their hoſe were drawn up ſtrait, and rolled up under them, which hanging looſe round about, muſt have been very indecent when a man ſtooped to the ground.

† A *gipſer*, the *jump*, if it means this, was a ſhort coat, or caſſock.

‡ *Hoqueton* was alſo a cloak,

§ *Gabbardine* or *rochet*, was a gown; the former word alſo ſignifies a horſeman's coat.

And then, continues the poet, all this

— I heard Robert Ielleſſe ſay
Clerke of the greene cloth. —

This might very well be, for Harding was living in the reign of Henry the Fifth.

Paſſing on to the reign of king Henry the Fourth, we ſhall find that the taſte of the foregoing reign was yet continued; and to the former extravagance was added the long pocketting ſleeves (as Camden calls them) on which Hoccleve, the diſciple of Geofry Chaucer, made the following rhimes,

Ibid. 235.

Now hath this land little neede of broomes,
To ſweepe away the filth out of the ſtreete,
Sen ſide ſleeves of pennileſſe groomes,
Will it up licke be it dry or weete.

All the twelve figures repreſenting the twelve months, with the ſigns of the zodiac, were done in the reign of king Henry the Fourth, (ſee plate 3 of this volume.) Here we find the ſleeveleſs jackets, the hoods buttoned under the chin, and the long ſleeves, in the figure of the virgin under the eighth month.

We will now finiſh this reign with the account of the habit of Henry, prince of Wales, (afterwards king Henry the Fifth) who, when he went to make his peace with his father, was apparelled (ſays Hollingſhead) in a gowne of blewe ſatten, full of ſmal oylet holes, at every hole the needle hanging by a ſilke threde, with which it was worked; about his arme he wore an houndes coller ſette full of SS of golde, and the tyrrettes likewiſe being of the ſame mettal.

Hollingſ. p. 1160.

The ſhort reign of Henry the Fifth, ſeems to have been ſo full of buſineſs, and the taxations of the people (to raiſe money for the ſupport of the foreign wars) were ſo great, that they had neither leiſure nor riches ſufficient to eſtabliſh new faſhions, or run into further extravagancies; I have met with only one note of any conſequence concerning the habits of this reign, which is of the king himſelf, who being in France with his queen (the beautiful Catharine, the French king's daughter) together with his father-in-law, and his queen, kept their feaſt of pentecoſt at Paris; the king of England in a royal court, ſat with his queen apparelled in rich and elegant veſtures, ornamented with pretious ſtones, and on their heads they wore diadems of gold, richly ſet with oriental jewels.

Grafton's Chronicle, p. 493.

But continuing on to the reign of Henry the Sixth, it ſeems as if all the fantaſtical, and ridiculous faſhions of the former æras, had been collected together and placed therein: a ſlight ſpecimen is given on plate 4, of this vol. where all the figures (7 and 8 excepted) are from delineations then made, as are thoſe alſo at the bottom of the third plate, under the months; and ſeveral head dreſſes exhibited in the ſixth plate, all which are more particularly noted, in the deſcription of the plates.

This prince himſelf (according to Stow) uſually wore a cap, or hood, of red velvet, which was afterwards preſerved a long time after upon his tomb. His high

Stow's Chron, page 424.

high cap of eſtate, called abrocket, or abrotke, was garniſhed with two rich crowns. In the 10th year of Edward the fourth, he was cauſed by the earl of Warwick, (who then eſpouſed his cauſe) to ride about the city of London, apparelled in a gown of blue velvet. Grafton, page 661. Hollingſ. 1314. Grafton, 702.

It would be an endleſs undertaking to deſcribe particularly the dreſs of this and the following reigns, or to number up the great variety of different figures; many of which (as well kings and nobles, as commoners) are already publiſhed in the regal and eccleſiaſtical antiquities of England: and for the dreſs of the latter reigns, as Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh, the reader is referred to the plates in this vol. beginning from the ſeventh, and continuing on to the laſt but one; which are all ſo well and accurately done, by the faithful antiquary John Rous, that they need no further explanation than what he himſelf has given, and is printed in the deſcription of the plates.

I have only to add, that all the above-mentioned enormities, eſpecially the long pointed ſhoes (which faſhion in the time of Edward the Fourth ſo univerſally prevailed, that thoſe whoſe finances would not allow them chains of gold and ſilver, had ſilken ſtrings, ſtretched from the knee to the long point of the ſhoe) were forbid by the parliament in the third year of Edward the Fourth; when it was enacted, that no man or woman under the eſtate of a lord, (or lords children) ſhould wear any cloth of gold tiſſue, apparel embroidered with gold, or have any furs or ſables upon their garments, and that no yeoman, or perſon under that degree, ſhould in their cloathing have any bolſters of wool, cotton, or other ſtuff; or in their jackets any thing, ſave the lining equal to the outſide; and that no perſon ſhould wear a gown, a jacket, or a cloak, but what was of ſuch a length, that when the ſame man ſtood upright, it ſhould hide his hinder parts; and further it was enacted, that no men ſhould wear ſhoes, or boots, with pikes exceeding two inches in length: it was alſo ſtrictly forbid (under pain of a grievous fine) that any taylor ſhould ſtuff, or bolſter a garment, to make it ſhorter than the act limited: and alſo to all ſhoemakers that they ſhould not make any ſhoes or boots above the proportioned ſize; but even all the above regulations, ſeem not to have been ſufficient entirely to aboliſh theſe fooliſh faſhions, for in the fifth year of the ſame king, it was proclaimed throughout England, that the points of ſhoes or boots, ſhould not exceed two inches, upon pain of curſing by the clergy, beſides the forfeiture of twenty ſhillings. Stow 417. Ibid. p. 419.

I will now conclude this ſubject, and think enough has been ſaid thereon; for it is needleſs to attempt any further particular deſcription of the latter part of this Engliſh æra; for I may with Dr. Bourd, give a man a pair of ſheers, and a piece of cloth, and defy him to cut a garment (tho' as whimſical and ridiculous as the moſt romantic genius could invent) but that in theſe latter ages, ſome authentic figure may be found, in habit full as ſtrange and monſtrous: but we muſt not think that theſe follies were confined to the Engliſh nation only; Oh no! our ſprightly neighbours the French, were to the full as ingenious in their attire, as we could poſſibly be: let but the curious reader caſt his eye upon the long ſeries of plates given in father Montfaucon's *Monarchie Francois*, and he will ſoon be convinced of the truth of this aſſertion: and other ſurrounding nations caught the infection, as may be proved, by examination of that valuable old chronicle, written by a German, whoſe name was Hartman, and printed at Nuremberg in the See Camdens Remains, P. 17.

the year of our Lord 1493; almoſt every page of which curious book, is enriched with a variety of excellent wood cuts, which repreſent the multiplicity of dreſſes that were at that time uſed in Germany.

Domeſtic Affairs, &c.

We have already ſeen the homely beds of the Saxons, and thoſe more improved of the Danes, and we find them ſtill improving in the Norman Æra, ſee fig. 2, plate 33 & plate 63, both in the firſt vol. Hollingſhead tells us, that in the memory of men living in his days,* was made a great amendment in lodging, for (ſays he) "our fathers & we our ſelves, have lyen full oft upon ſtraw pallettes, covered only with a ſheete, under coverlettes made of dogſwain or hopharlots (I uſe, ſays he, the very words of the old men, from whom I received the accounts) and a good round logge under their heades, inſteade of a boulſter. If it were ſo that our fathers or the good man of the houſe had a matteres or flock bed, and thereto a ſacke of chaffe to reſt hys heade upon, he thought himſelf to be as well lodged as the lorde of the towne, ſo well were they contented. Pillowes ſayde they were thought meete only for women in childe bed. As for ſervants, if they had any ſheete above them, it was well, for ſeldome had they any under their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking ſtrawes, that ranne oft thorow the canvas, and raced their hardened hides." This was only ſpeaking of the middling ſort, ſee plates 7, 50, and 58 of this vol. which are beds belonging to people of he firſt diſtinction:—yet, if the reader will look back to plate 35 of the firſt volume, he will ſee that the Monk's palet was hard enough, and the covering very ſlight. I have not been able to trace out the firſt introduction of the luxurious feather beds, but I find them mentioned in an old chronicle, as early as the reign of Richard the Second; for ſpeaking of the death of the duke of Gloceſter, uncle to the king, we are told that he was ſmothered with "a *feder bedde*." In an old poem, entitled the Squire of Low Degree (which Mr. Wharton takes to be as ancient as the reign of Edward the Firſt) is this deſcription of the bed and furniture of a princeſs.

Deſcrip. Brit. vol. 1, page 856.

MS. in Bib. Harl. inſig. 4690, fol. 97.

Vide Wharton, on Engliſh Poetry

Your blankettes ſhal be of fuſtyane,
Your ſhetes ſhal be of cloths of rayne,
Your head ſhete ſhalt be of pery pyght,
Wyth dyamonds ſet & rubys bryght;
Whan you aze layd in bed ſo ſofte,
A cage of golde ſhall hange alofte,
Wythe longe peper fayze brening,
And cloves that be ſwete ſmellyng.

In all the delineations of the Engliſh Æra (that I have ſeen) the figures repreſented in bed are pictured quite naked, ſee even the queen, plate 50, the dutcheſs, plate 7, and the duke, who is dying, plate 58, all in this vol. the ſame alſo ſeems to be confirmed by the accounts of the hiſtorians; and this may appear ſtill more ſtrange,

* This chronicle of Hollingſhead was publiſhed in 2 vols. with wood cuts, in the year 1577, the author himſelf then living.

ſtrange, when on the examination of the Saxon, Daniſh, and Norman Æras, we find the figures in bed with cloſe garments, like ſhirts; ſee vol. 1, plates 13, 27, 33, and 63. In plates 7, and 50, of this volume, we ſee that the infant (immediately on its birth) is wrapped up in ſwaddling clothes, from the head to the ſoot; which unnatural cuſtom continued to be practiſed, even till the beginning of this laſt century.

For houſhold furniture, ſays Hollingſhead, in our own days, old men may remember great improvements, as the exchange of treene (wooden) platters for pewter, and wooden ſpoones for ſilver or tin. For ſo common were al ſorts of treene veſſelles in old time, that a man ſhould hardly find four peces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a ſalte) in a goode farmers houſe, and yet for al this frugalitie (if it may be ſo juſtly called) they were ſcarce able to lyve and paye their rentes, at their dayes, without ſelling of a cow, or a horſe, or more, although they payde but foure pounds at the uttermoſt by the yere; and ſays this author, the reaſon was owing to too much attention to the alehouſe, and too little to work; for, continues he, altho' at preſent (that was in the author's life-time) the foure pounds be improved to fourty or fiftye, yet will the farmer thinke his gaines very ſmall toward the middeſt of his terme, if he have not ſixe or ſeaven yeres rent lying by him, therewith to purchaſe a newe leaſe, beſide a faire garniſhe of pewter on his cowborde, three or foure feather beddes, ſo many coverlettes and carpettes of tapiſtry, a ſilver ſalt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neaſt) and a duſſen of ſpoones, to furniſhe up the ſute." Deſcrip. Brit. vol. 1. fol. 856.

We may juſtly wonder, what has become of the induſtry of the Engliſh ladies; we hear no more of their rich embroiderings, and curious needlework. Is all the domeſtic ſimplicity of the former ages entirely baniſhed? why no! ſome few, tho' very rare examples, are even in theſe latter times to be produced; Queen Elizabeth employed her leiſure hours (before ſhe came to the crown) in writing holy prayers, and copying various religious diſcourſes from the ſacred writings: her grace the dutcheſs dowager of Portland, has in her cabinet a very curious ſpecimen; another is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, which has the covers curiouſly wrought, and embroidered with gold and ſilver thread; ſaid alſo to be the work of her own hand. I remember ſome time ago, being in a company viewing the Muſeum, and a great number of ladies there preſent, the gentleman who attended, took the book and ſhewed it to them, ſaying, "Is it not much to be lamented, that the ladies of the preſent age, will not afford a little of ſo much loſt time, upon ſuch pious and laudable amuſements, ſeeking to improve their minds with uſeful knowledge? and then (adds he, ſmiling) perhaps ſo many good huſbands would not be ſpoiled, and thoſe that are bad, would ſtand ſome chance of being reclaimed, by the good examples of their religious conſorts.

Carriages for Pleaſure.

We have already ſeen the Saxon Cnet or Chariot; the Normans uſed a horſe barrow, or horſe litter; Malmſbury ſpeaking of the death of William Rufus, tells us that his dead body was placed upon a "*rheda caballaria*," a kind of horſe chariot; or as Fabian tranſlates it horſe litter: Mathew of Weſtminſter

informs us, that John in his laſt ſickneſs, was conveyed from the abbey of Swinſhead, in "*lectica equeſtri*;" which is evidently the horſe litter: and theſe being continued down in the ſucceeding reigns, were the only carriages for perſons of diſtinction: thus ſays Froiſſart (ſpeaking of the young Iſabel, the ſecond wife of king Richard the Second) "En myſt la june royne d'angleterre en une litiere, moult rich, qui eſtoit ordonee pour elle," that is, *the young queen of England was put into a litter, extreamly grand and rich, which was appointed for her.* And by the little book, *Orbis ſenſualis Pictus*, it appears that they were in common uſe, in the ſeventeenth century, even long after the invention of coaches.

Froiſſart, MS. vol. 4.

Orb. ſenſualis Pictus, fol. 105.

Coaches (according to Stow) were not uſed till the year 1555,* when (ſays he) "Walter Ripon made a coach for the earl of Rutland, which was the firſt that ever was made in England; and in the year 1564, the ſame Walter made the firſt hollow turning coach, with pillars and arches for her majeſtie (queen Mary) being then her ſervant; and in the year 1584, he made a chariot throane, with foure pillars behind, to beare a canopie with a crowne imperiall on the toppe, and before, two lower pillars, whereon ſtood a lion and a dragon, the ſupporters of the armes of England."---It was a long time after the firſt invention of coaches, before the coach box was added, for ſays the little book above quoted; "the coachman joineth a horſe fixt to match a ſaddle horſe, to the coach tree, then he ſiteth upon the ſaddle, and when there was four horſes, he drove thoſe which went before him, guiding them with a rein. Great perſons were carried in a coach, or hanging waggon, with ſix horſes, and two coachmen (we ſhould call them poſtillions) others rode in chariots drawn by two horſes only."

Stow's Summarie of the Engliſh Chron.

Sports and Paſtimes.

The ſports, or paſtimes of the firſt rank, and the moſt noble, were the tournaments: not that the paſſion of hunting, hawking, and other champaigne amuſements was abated; we find them ſtill perſuing theſe antient ſports, witneſs the following verſes from an old ballad.

In ſummer time, when leaves grow greene
And bloſſoms bedecke the tree,
King Edward would a hunting ryde,
Some paſtime for to ſee.

With hawkes and hounde he made him bowne,
With horne & eke with bowe;
To Drayton Baſſet he tooke his waye
With all his lordes a rowe.

Reliques of antient poetry, vol. 2, page 76.

In former times theſe ſports were confined to the kings and nobles only; but in the foreſt charter (ſigned by John, and confirmed by his ſon Henry the Third) the

Carta de foreſta, cap. xi.

* Caxton in his additions to the Polychronicon, tells us, that "*a great company of lords and ladies, with newe chares and palfrayes, went over ſee to attend the lady Margaret, who was afterwards married to king Henry the Sixth*; but what ſort of carriages thoſe *chares* were, muſt be left to the judgment of the reader. See Caxton's additions at the end of the Polychronicon, publiſhed by him, chap. 22, fol. 417.

the privilege was granted, that every freeman might have in his own woods, aviaries of hawks, ſparrow hawks, faulcons, eagles, and herons, and had a right to all the money that he might find upon his own premiſes; and alſo, that no man ſhould from that time forward, forfeit either his life or limbs for killing the king's deer; but if any man ſhould be convicted, or taken in the fact of ſtealing veniſon belonging to the king, he ſhould be ſubject to a heavy fine, and in default of payment, to be impriſoned for a year and a day; and after that time was expired, he ſhould either find ſurety for his good behaviour, or be baniſhed the land. Ibid. cap. 14.

Of Tournaments, &c.

Theſe ſports were entirely managed by their own laws, and at the firſt inſtitution, the combatants often proceeded from ſport to earneſt, ſlaying and maiming each other downright; they were (ſays Camden) firſt inſtituted in the year 934, though, continues he, they made not their appearance in England till the reign of king Stephen, as Lambard has thus noted, "this manner of exerciſe being then uſed" (ſays he) "not at the tilt, as I think, but at randome, and in the open fielde, was accompted ſo dangerous to perſons haveing to do therein, that ſundry popes had forbidden it by decree;" and "thoſe that were ſlain (according to Camden) were by the church canons denyed chriſtian burial:"* The kings of this realm (continues Lambarde) before king Stephen, would not ſuffer it to be frequented within their land; ſo that, ſuch as for exerciſe in that feate in armes, were driven to paſſe over the ſeas, and to performe it in ſome indifferent place in a foreigne countrie. But afterwarde, king Stephen in his time permitted it; and then after him, king Richard the Firſt not only allowed it, but alſo encouraged his nobilitie to uſe it; and ſo by litle and litle, the danger being ſufficiently provided for,† and the men waxing expert, it grewe in time of the kings that followed (eſpecially in the reigne of Edward the Third) to a moſt pleaſent, uſual and familiar paſtime. Camden's Brit. in Herefordſhire. Lambarde's perambulation of Kent fol. 448. Camden ut ſupra.

The

* And Henry the Third, by the advice of parliament enacted, that all who (without leave) ſhould keep a tournament, ſhould forfeit their eſtates, and their children to be diſinherited.

† The danger was not ſo well provided againſt, as Lambarde affirms, witneſs the many accounts we have in our hiſtories, of the ſeveral lords and nobles that were killed and hurt at theſe ſports; among many other noble perſons, we read of Henry the Second, the French king, who in the year 1558, was ſlain at a tournament. And that they ſhould be often hurt, muſt follow of conſequence; for imagining two ſtrong men on ſpiritted horſes, running againſt each other, their horſes full ſpeed; the leaſt was the throwing one or other out of their ſaddles upon the ground, thus ſays Stow, at a juſting held on London Bridge, A. D. 1395, between David earl of Crawford and lord Wells, the latter was at the third courſe, caſt from his ſaddle to the ground, and much hurt; and Caxton tells us, that in the 17th year of Richard the Second, "Thezle of Mozeyf (a Scotch lozd) chalenged the erle Mazchal of England, to juſte with hym on horsback, with ſhazpe ſpezes, and ſoo they roode togethez ceztayne couzſes, but not the full chalenge, for the Scottyſsh erle was caſſe bothe hozs & man, & two of hys rybbes bzoken with the ſame ſelle, & ſoo bozne home into his inn, & anone after was cazyed homewazde in a littyer," and at Yozke he dyed. Addit. to Polychronicon, chap. 7. fol. 399.

The old poet Robert of Gloceſter giving us a deſcription of William Rufus, ſon to the Conqueror, writes thus,

Robert of Gloceſter, in Vit. Williel. Secun.

Stalwayde he was, & haydy, & god knygt, thorn al thyng
In batayle, & in tornemnes er than he weze Kyng.

Which may lead one to think, that as Rufus was ſo famous in theſe ſports, he would hardly have diſcouraged them among his ſubjects.

Theſe ſports took riſe from the martial exerciſes of the ancients. Our hiſtorians inform us, that the noble Britiſh king Arthur, loved and encouraged feats of arms, or warlike games*, and made a round table for his knights, who in thoſe troubleſome times were to wander about in ſearch of adventures; to protect and reſcue the innocent from oppreſſion, and to be in particular as guards and ſervants to ladies in diſtreſs, or danger : --- In imitation of this round table of king Arthur, ſays Harding, in the ſeventh year of Edward the Firſt,

Geofry Monmouth.

Harding's Chronicle, chap 155, fol. 161.

And in the yeze a thouſand was ful then
Two hundzed alſo ſixty and nynetene,
When Sir Roger Mozтimer ſo began
At Kelyngwozth, the round table as was ſene,
Of a thouſand Knyghts for decipline,
Of young menne, after he could deviſe
Of Tuznementes, and juſtes to exezciſe.

A Thouſand Ladies, excellyng in beautee
He had alſo theze, in Tentes high above
The juſtes, that thei might well and clezely ſee
Who juſted beſte, theze for their Lady Love
For whoſe beautie, it ſhould the Knightes move
In azmes ſo eche other to revie
To get a fame in play of Chivalzy.

This inſtitution has in it all the romantic fire of knight errantry, the ladies were placed ſo that they might be ſpectators, and the young knights (arrayed no doubt in the colours of their favourite damſels) performed the beſt they could, in honour of their "Lady Love," to proclaim her beauty and her virtue. This round table, for the encouragement of arms and valour, was renewed at Windſor with great ſplendour, by king Edward the Third, in the eighteenth year of his reign; and ſuch was the number of foreign knights, who reſorted thither

* All theſe warlike games, as thoſe of the round table, and tilt or tournaments, are by hiſtorians too often confounded together; but they were different games, as appears from a paſſage in that celebrated hiſtorian, Mathew Paris; who ſpeaking of theſe ſports in the life of Henry the Third, writes thus; non in *haſtiludio* illo, quod vulgariter *torneamentum* dicitur; ſed potius in illo ludo militari, qui *menſa rotunda* dicitur, &c not in the *tilts* which we commonly call *tournaments*, but rather in that military game, called *the round table:* the firſt was the tilting or running at each other with lances, the ſecond likely was the ſame with that antient ſport, called barriers, which comes from the old French *barres*, or *jeu de barres*, a martial ſport (ſays the Gloſſography) of men armed, and fighting together with ſhort ſwords, within certain limits or liſts, whereby they were ſevered from the ſpectators. See alſo Dr. Watts, in his Gloſſary to Mat. Paris, ſub tournament; and this fighting without lances, diſtinguiſhed the barriers, or round table knights, from the tilters.

thither to ſhew their ſkill, and gain themſelves honour and renown, that Philip Valois, king of France, jealous of the glory of our monarch, made alſo a round table in his own kingdom,

There was a royal juſts holden by king Richard the Second at Smithfield, at which (ſays Caxton) the king attended, and all "of his hous weꝛe of one ſute theyr cotys, theyr armys, theyr ſheldes, & theyr tꝛappouꝛs weꝛe embꝛowdꝛed all with whyte heꝛtis, (harts) with cꝛownes of gold about their necks, & cheynes of gold hangyng theꝛeon; whiche heꝛtys (harts) weꝛe the kings leveꝛey, that he gaf to loꝛdes, ladyes, knyghtes, & ſquyeꝛs, to know his houſhold peple fꝛom other; then four and twenty ladyes comynge to the juſtys, ladde four and twenty loꝛdes with cheynes of gold, and alle in the ſame ſute of heꝛtes as is afoꝛe ſayd, fꝛom the Tour on hoꝛsbak thuꝛgh the cyte of London into Smythfeld." Addit. to Polychronicon, c. 6. fol. 397.

At theſe tournaments, tilts, juſts, or barriers, the uſual method was for the knights to challenge all comers to perform ſo many courſes with the lance, or ſo many blows with the ſword, or the like. The following are ſpecimens collected from an old MS. "of Certaine Triumphes," in the Harlean Library.

At the marriage of Richard duke of York, (ſon to Edward the Fourth) with Anne Mowbray, daughter to the duke of Norfolk, ſix gentlemen challenged all commers at the MS. in Bib. Harl. inſig. No. 69.

Juſt Roiall, with *helme* and *ſhield*, in maner accuſtomed.

Secondly, To runne in *Oſting harneis* alonge a tilte.

And thirdly, To ſtrike certaine ſtrokes with ſwoards and guiſe of *torney*.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, *certaine gentlemen*, who ſtiled themſelves the ſervants of *Ladie Maie*, in honour of that month, gave a challenge to be performed at *Greenwiche*; the articles run thus:

Imprimis, The fourtenth daie of Maie ſhalle be redye in the field certaine gentlemen, perteyning to the Ladye Maie, armed for the *tilt*, in *harneis* therunto accuſtomed; and there to kepe the fielde (in ſuch place as it ſhall pleaſe the kynge to appoint) from 2 of the clocke, till 5 at the afternoone, to run with every commer 8 courſes; and thus the anſwerers all anſwered & ſerved, that than if there be any that deſireth *for their Ladyes ſake* other 4 courſes, it ſhall be granted, ſo the hower be not paſt, if it be then at the queenes pleaſure.

The ſecond day, to ſhoot *ſtandart arrowe* and *flighte*, with all commers; he that ſhootes the *ſtandart* furtheſt to have a priſe, and ſo in like caſe of the *arrow* of the *flight*.

The third day, with *ſwordes rebated*, (without points or edges) to ſtrike with every commer 8 ſtrokes in waye of pleaſure; and four ſtrokes more for any of the commers *miſtreſs ſake*, under the above reſtrictions, (and the queene's pleaſure.)

The fourth day, to *wreſtle* all manner of ways, at the pleaſure of the commers.

The fifth day, armed for to fighte on foote, with *ſpeares* in their hands *rebated*, (that is blunted) and their ſwordes by their ſides for the battle; and there with ſpeare and ſword to defend their barriers; that is to ſay, with ſpeares 8 ſtrokes, whereof two with foyne, (perhaps thruſts) and 6 with ſtrokes; and that done, to drawe their ſwordes and ſtrike 8 ſtrokes every man, to his beſt advantage, with gripe or otherwiſe; and four ſtrokes *for a lady*, under the above reſtrictions.

The ſixth day, to *caſte the barre* on foote, and with the arme both heavie and light.

At theſe *tournois* the challenger doth engage to come in *harneis* for the tilt, without *targe* or *brockett*, *woolant peece* over the head, *rondall* over the *garde*, reſt of advantage, fraude, deceit, or other malengine.

And

And ſome time after four gentlemen challenged all commers at Greenwich:

To the ſeate called the *barriers*, with the *caſting ſpeare*, and the *targatt*, and the *baſtarde ſworde*.

And one caſt with the *ſpeare* hedded with the *morn*, and 17 ſtrokes with the *ſworde*, point and edge rebated; without cloſe or griping one another with handes, upon paine of ſuch puniſhment as the judges for the tyme being ſhould thinke requiſite.

The tilts, we find, were performed with long tilting ſpears, on horſeback; and when their lances were broken, they often took to their ſwords as well as axes; ſee the method of challenge in the deſcription of the plates in the life of Earl Warwick, and the manner of performing, plates 35, 36, & 37, &c.

Theatrical Amuſements.

It will be impoſſible to aſcertain the date when theſe amuſements were firſt introduced into England: we find them mentioned very early in the Norman æra by Stephanides, or Fitz-Stephen, as we have already ſeen, page 22 of this volume. His words are, Londonia pro ſpectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis ſenicis, ludos habet ſanctiores, repræſentationes miraculorum quæ ſancti confeſſores operati ſunt, ſeu repræſentationes paſſionum, quibus claruit conſtantia martyrum. And as theſe repreſentations are by no means mentioned as new or uncommon, we may juſtly conclude them to be of a date ſtill more ancient. This author wrote in the reign of Henry the Second, and died in the reign of king Richard the Firſt, An. Dom. 1191; but he has not left any account of their theatres, or method of performing; nor whether there were at that time players who made it their buſineſs, as in the preſent age.

In the 6th year of the reign of Edward the Third, it was ordained by parliament, that a company of men, called vagrants, who made maſquerades through the whole city, ſhould be whipped out of London, becauſe they repreſented ſcandalous things in little alehouſes, and other places where the populace aſſembled. Theſe (ſays Dodſley, in the Preface to his curious Collection of Antient Plays) were in all probability of that ſpecies called *mummers* *, who uſed to ſtroll about the country, dreſſed in an antick manner, dancing, mimicking, and ſhewing poſtures, and as theſe mummers always went maſked and diſguiſed, they too frequently committed violent outrages, and were guilty of many lewd diſorders, which afterwards ſo much encreaſed, that in the third year of Henry the Eighth, an act was made againſt mummers, in which the penalty for ſelling viſors, or keeping them in any houſe, was twenty ſhillings each viſor. However, (ſays my author) bad as theſe mummers may have been, they ſeem to be the true original comedians of England, and their excellence altogether conſiſted, as that of their ſucceſſors does in part ſtill, in mimickry and humour.

Dodſley's Preface to Antient Plays.

Vide Statut.

Theſe mummings were alſo the common holiday amuſements among the young people, both in town and country. In the year 1377, (ſays Stow) the citizens of London, at the feaſt of Chriſtmas, made a mumming, to pleaſe the young prince Richard, ſon to Edward the Black Prince, (afterwards Richard the Second) in the following manner: "On the Sunday before *Candlemas*, in the night

Stow's Survey of London, p. 78.

* A word ſignifying one who maſks and diſguiſes himſelf to play the fool without ſpeaking. Hence, perhaps, comes our country word *mum*; hold your tongue; ſay nothing. Dodſley's Preface, page 8.

night, one hundred and thirty citizens, diſguiſed and well horſed, in a *mummery*, with ſound of trumpets, ſackbuts, cornets, ſhalmes, and other miniſtrels, and innumerable torch-lights of wax, rode from *Newgate* thorow *Cheap*, over the bridge through *Southwarke*, and ſo to *Kennington*, beſides *Lambeth*, where the young prince remained with his mother, and the duke of *Lancaſter* his uncle, the earles of *Cambridge*, *Hereford*, *Warwicke*, and *Suffolke*, with divers other lords. In the firſt ranke did ride 48, in the likeneſſe and habit of eſquires, two and two together, clothed in red coats, and gownes of ſay or ſendall, with comely viſors on their faces: After them came riding 48 knights, in the ſame livery of colour and ſtuffe; then followed one richly arrayed, like an emperour; and after him at ſome diſtance, one ſtately tyred like a pope, who was followed by 24 cardinals; and after them eight or ten with blacke vizors, not amiable, as if they had been legates from ſome foraigne princes. Theſe maſkers, after they had entered the mannor of *Kennington*, alighted from their horſes, and entred the hall on foote, which done, the prince, his mother, and the lords, came out of the chamber into the hall, whom the mummers did ſalute, ſhewing by a paire of dice on the table, their deſire to play with the young prince, which they ſo handled, that the prince did alwaies winne when he caſt at them. Then the mummers ſet to the prince three jewels, one after another, which were a bowle of gold, a cup of gold, and a ring of gold, which the prince wanne at three caſts. Then they ſet to the prince's mother, the duke, the earles, and other lords, to every one a ring of gold, which they did alſo winne. After which they were feaſted, and the muſicke ſounded, the prince and lords danced on the one part with the mummers, who did alſo dance; which jollity being ended, they were againe made to drinke, and then departed in order as they came.

The like was to *Henry* the Fourth, in the ſecond of his reign, he then keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *Eltham*, twelve aldermen of *London*, and their ſonnes, rode in a mumming, and had great thanks."

But to return to the ſtage, *Carew*, in his Survey of Cornwall, (which was written in the reign of Elizabeth) ſpeaking of the diverſions of the people, ſays thus,—" The Guary-Miracle (in Engliſh a *Miracle Play*,) is a kind of interlude, compiled in Corniſh, out of ſome ſcripture Hiſtory. For repreſenting it they raiſe an amphitheatre in ſome open field, having the diameter of this incloſed plain, ſome 40 or 50 foot. The country people flock from all ſides, many miles off, to ſee and hear it; for they have therein devils and devices to delight as well the eye as the ear." But this author has not told us of what date theſe interludes were ſuppoſed to be; tho' without doubt they were very ancient, for holy hiſtories had long been the only ſubject of the drama, all over Europe; but theſe (ſays Dodſley) were repreſented in ſo ſtupid and ridiculous a manner, that the ſtories of the *New Teſtament* in particular, were thought to encourage libertiniſm and infidelity. *

Carew's Survey of Cornwall

Vide Dodſley's preface to the collect. of old plays.

The year 1378 (continues the ſame author) is the earlieſt date I can find, in which expreſs mention is made of the repreſentation of theſe miſteries, or holy plays in England. In this year the ſcholars of Paul's ſchool preſented a petition to king Richard the Second, praying his Majeſty to prohibit ſome unexpert people

* They ſtuck not (in theſe myſteries) at perſonating the moſt holy and ſacred characters: what will the reader ſay, when he hears that in a miſtery called *God's Promiſes*, the principal character is Pater Cæleſtis, the Heavenly Father. Vol. 1. of Dodſley's collection of old plays.

ple from preſenting the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, to the great prejudice of the ſaid clergy, who had been at great expence, in order to repreſent it publicly at Chriſtmas." And, ſays Stow, in the year 1390, the fourteenth of Richard the Second, I read, that the pariſh clerks of *London*, on the 18th of *July*, plaid enterludes at *Skinner's Well*, neere unto *Clerk's Well*, which play continued three days together, the king, queene, and nobles being preſent. Alſo in the yeere 1409, the tenth of *Henry* the Fourth, they played a play at the *Skinner's Well*, which laſted eight dayes, and was of matter from the creation of the world: there were to ſee the ſame, the moſt part of the nobles and gentiles in England." How long theſe holy miſteries of divinity continued to be exhibited amongſt us cannot exactly be determined: but that period (ſays Dodſley) might be called the dead ſleep of the muſes; and when this was over, they did not preſently awake, but in a kind of morning dream produced the moralities that followed: however theſe jumbled ideas had ſome ſhadow of meaning. The myſteries only repreſented in a ſenſeleſs manner, ſome miraculous hiſtory from the Old and New Teſtament: but in theſe moralities ſomething of deſign appeared, a fable and a moral, with ſomething alſo of poetry: the virtues, vices, and other affections of the mind being frequently perſonified. † "Then (continues the ſame author) the muſe might now be ſaid to be juſt awake, when ſhe began to trifle in the old interludes, and aimed at ſomething like wit and humour. Gammer Gurton's Needle (which is generally called our firſt comedy, and not undeſervedly) appeared ſoon after the interludes: it is indeed altogether of a comic caſt, and wants not humour, tho' of a low and ſordid kind. ‡

Stow's Survey, p. 11.

Dodſley's preface.

Thus the ſtage continued ſtill improving, and under Shakeſpear, Johnſon, and other famous poets, has at laſt arrived to that perfection, in which we find it at this preſent period.

Many plays were written by maſters of ſchools, to be performed by the youths; the ſame were made and played at the univerſities by the ſtudents of the ſeveral colleges: of which laſt ſort are the curious performances of one Thomas Goff, of Chriſt-Church, Oxford, (who was in his day eſteemed an excellent poet) as a ſpecimen of the ſtile, as well as of the ingenuity of the author, we give the following ſpeech of *Amureth, or the Courageous Turk*; who coming upon the ſtage, and ſeeing "an appearance of the heavens being on fire, comets, and blazing ſtars," thus makes his addreſs to the heavens.

How now (ye Heavens) grow you
So proud, that you muſt needs put on curl'd locks,
And cloth yourſelves in periwigs of fire?

Amureth the First, act 5, ſcene 3.

At

† As for example, in an old morality, entitled, *All for Money*, the perſons of the drama are: Theology, Science, Art, Money, Adulation, Godly Admonition, Miſchievous Help, Pleaſure, Preſt for Pleaſure, Sin, Swift to Sin, Virtue, Humility, Charity, All for Money, Damnation, Satan, Pride, Gluttony, Learning with Money, Learning without Money, Money without Learning, Neither Learning nor Money, Moneyleſs, Moneyleſs and Friendleſs, Nychol, Gregory Graceleſs, Mother Crook, Judas, Dives, and William with the two Wives. Dodſley's Preface. See alſo the characters repreſented in the Triumphal Entry of Henry the Sixth into London, page 51, et ſeq. of this vol.

‡ This comedy is given in Dodſley's curious collection of old plays, printed from an edition dated 1661, which informs us that it was written by Mr. S—, Maſter of arts, and played at Cambridge about 100 years before. Vol. 1. of Dodſley's collection.

At leaſt our readers will allow the thought of the Heavens cloathing themſelves *with perriwigs of fire*, is uncommonly great; but how great muſt their ſurprize be, when they are informed that the whole play abounds with paſſages equal in excellency and novelty to the above ſpecimen: and in another play, entitled, *The Raging Turk, or Bajazet the Second*; the hero Bajazet is introduced with this ſpeech,

Am I not emperor? he that breaths a no,
Damns in that negative ſyllable his ſoul,
Durſt any god gainſay it, he ſhould feel
The ſtrength of fierceſt gyants in my armes,
Mine angers at the higheſt, and I could ſhake
The firm foundation of the earthly globe:
Could I but graſpe the poles in theſe two hands,
I'd pluck the world aſunder, &c.

Bajazet the Second, act 1, ſcene 2.

And this character of a great hero is compleated by declaring that he will ſcale Heaven, and would when he had

———— Got beyond the utmoſt ſphere,
Beſiege the concave of this univerſe,
And hunger-ſtarve the gods till they confeſs'd
What furies did oppreſs (his) ſleeping ſoul.

Ibid, act 5, ſcene 9.

Theſe plays went through two editions, the laſt was printed in the year 1656 at London.

And at this period not only in comedies, but in the deepeſt tragedies, a fool was abſolutely neceſſary; who with his buffoonery might divert the audience, which motley mixture, to the honour of the good ſenſe of the preſent age, is entirely exploded.

We will now conclude this ſubject, with an account of the antient players from Stow; who informs us "that players in former times, were retainers to noblemen, and none had the privilege to act plays but ſuch; ſo in the time of Queen Elizabeth, many of the nobility had ſervants and retainers, who were players, and went about getting their livelihood that way."

Stow's Survey.

And in another place ſpeaking of the ſtage, he ſays, "This was once a recreation, and uſed therefore now and then occaſionally, but afterwards by abuſe became a trade and calling, and ſo remains to this day."

"In thoſe former days ingenious tradeſmen, and gentlemens ſervants, would ſometimes gather a company of themſelves, and learn interludes, to expoſe vice, or to repreſent the noble actions of our anceſtors. Theſe they played at feſtivals in private houſes, at weddings or other entertainments; but in proceſs of time it became an occupation."

Here we may add the Poſture Maſter, and the figure balancing a ſpear, pl. 6, fig. 17 and 18; the firſt we ſee ſtanding upon the ſhoulders of a man (who is playing the bagpipes) while he turns and winds himſelf about to the muſic: the ſecond with his right hand holds up his left foot, while on his noſe is placed the ſpear: even in their ſports is ſome diſplay of martial genius, (at preſent the ſtraw, a proper

emblem of lightneſs, is adopted.) The above figures are from a curious MS. in the poſſeſſion of John Ives, Eſq; who communicated to me theſe, and ſeveral other curious matters: the MS. is evidently by the ſame hand, and habit of the figures as antient as the time of Edward the Third.

Fairs or Wakes.

Wakes firſt took their riſe from the meeting of the people at the dedication of churches; which ceremony was performed on the ſaints day, in whoſe honour the church was built; on the preceeding evening came the religious people to watch and pray all the night; and this watching or waking, was annually kept up on the eves of the ſaints days. The firſt intention of this watching was good and holy, but by degrees greater numbers attending, leſs devotion and reverence was obſerved; till at length from hawkers and pedlars coming thither to ſell their petty wares, the merchants came and ſet up ſtalls and booths in the church yards; and not only thoſe (ſays Spelman) who lived in the pariſh to which the church belonged, reſorted thither, but others from all the neighbouring towns and villages; and the greater the reputation of the ſaint, the greater were the numbers that flocked together on this occaſion. Dugdale in his Warwickſhire, gives us the following quotation from an old MS. Legend, of St. John the Baptiſt, *and ye ſhall underſtond and know how the* evyns *were furſt found in old time. In the beginning of holi churche, it was ſo that the pepull cam to the chirche with candellys brennyng, and wold wake, and coome with light toward to the chirche in their devocions, and aftir they fell to lecherie and ſongs, daunces, harping, piping, and alſo to glotony and ſinne, and ſo turned the holineſſe to curſydneſs: wherefore holy faders ordeined the pepull to leve that* waking, *and to faſt the* evyn. *But hit is callyd* vigilia *that is* waking *in Engliſhe, and it is called* evyn, *for at* evyn *they were wont to come to chirche.* The unſeeminglyneſs of theſe riotous wakeings, becoming at length offenſive to the religious people, they were ſuppreſſed, and the people meeting inthe day, regular fairs were kept annually on the ſaints day: the direct time of the prohibition of theſe nocturnal viſits to the church, is not known, but (ſays Dugdale) I do conclude it to have been very antient.

Spelman's Gloſſary.

Dugdale's Warwick. fol. 514. Vide Durandus Rationali Divinorum.

The dedication of churches was coeval with Chriſtianity, and annually kept upon ſaints days; but it often happened that thoſe days fell out in the time of harveſt, which made it very inconvenient; therefore in ſuch caſe, the wake was ordered to be kept on the following Sunday: but this keeping the fairs on Sundays, was juſtly found fault with by the clergy. The Abbot of Ely, in John's reign, preached much againſt ſuch prophanation of the ſabbath; but this irreligious cuſtom was not entirely aboliſhed till the reign of king Henry the Sixth.

The Commoner Sports,

Stow's Survey of London, p. 97.

At the great houſes the Chriſtmas was held with much feſtivity; and there was appointed one, who was ſtiled the *Lord of the Miſrule*, he was always to be

be the foremoſt in contriving of mirth and delight, for the paſtimes of the ſurrounding gueſts, while the loin of beef, and other large joints, with huge puddings, ſmoaked upon the table.

Not only the houſes and churches were decked with green boughs, as holly, ivy, &c. but ſtandards alſo richly dreſſed up with the ſame, were ſet up in the ſtreets, and they danced round them.

At Eaſter alſo were great ſhews made at the fetching in (ſays Stow) of a twiſted tree (or *with* as they termed) from the woods into the king's houſe, and the like into every man's houſe of worſhip and honour. Ibid

" At other holydays, the youths uſed after the evening prayer, to exerciſe at their maſters doors their *waſters* and *bucklers*: and the maidens, one of them playing on a timbrell, in the ſight of their maſters and dames, to dance for garlands, hanged athwart the ſtreet." Ibid. p. 78.

The mayings are in ſome ſort yet kept up by the milk maids at London, who go about the ſtreets with their garlands and muſic, dancing: but this tracing is a very imperfect ſhadow of the original ſports, for May poles were ſet up in the ſtreets, with various martial ſhews, moris dancing, and other devices, with which and revelling and good cheer, the day was paſſed away, at night they rejoiced, and lighted up their bonfires: at London (ſays Stow) they had beſides *ſtage plays* and the like diverſions in the ſtreets.

The bull and bear baitings were paſtimes much eſteemed throughout the whole of this Æra; at London theſe ſports were ſet forth in the bear gardens, where ſcaffolds were erected for the ſpectators to ſit in ſafety and behold them; with other games of ſtrength, as fighting with the fiſts, wreſtling, &c.

The genteeler ſports were bowls and tennis, both which are games of a long ſtanding.

The Sports of Children.

Their amuſements were much the ſame with thoſe at preſent played over by the young lads of this age, as trundling hoops, blindman's buff, playing with tops, ſhooting with bows at marks, and ſwimming on bladders; and of the ſtill younger ſort, playing with whirligigs and paper windmills, all which are found in an old miſſal, in the poſſeſſion of John Ives, Eſq.

Muſical Inſtruments.

Theſe differ not much from thoſe we have already ſeen; in plate 6 are exhibited many various inſtruments; fig. xxvii is an organ, with two rows of pipes, which the woman plays with one hand, while ſhe blows a horn that ſhe holds in the other, which might ſerve perhaps by way of baſe. The ſeveral other pieces of muſick need no deſcription. In the 45th page of this volume, I have taken notice that Stow places drums among the warlike inſtruments of muſick, as early as the reigns of Henry the Fourth and Fifth; but by figures 21 and 23 of this plate, we may ſee they are much earlier, as theſe figures are taken from

from the Liber Regalis, at Weſtminſter Abbey, which was written at the coronation of Richard the Second; alſo by figure 22, we ſee that the playing on two flutes was yet practiſed.

Banquets of the ENGLISH.

Hollingſhead, page 969.

The exceſs in banquetting in king Edward the Third's time was ſo great, that he was obliged in the ſeventeenth year of his reign to eſtabliſh certain rules, forbidding any common man to have dainty diſhes at his table, or coſtly drink.

Stow's Chron. page 267.

That the reader may have ſome idea of the profuſeneſs of the time, let us hear what Stow has ſaid; "At the marriage of Lionel duke of Clarence (the third ſon of Edward the Third) with Violentis, the daughter of Galeaſius the Second, duke of Millan; there was a rich feaſt, in which above thirty courſes were ſerved at the table, and the fragments that remained were more than ſufficient to have ſerved 1000 people." This muſt have been a very aſtoniſhing banquet indeed, for in common the moſt ſplendid feaſt conſiſted only of three courſes, or ſix at fartheſt, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Survey of London, p. 521.

The ſame author (Stow) informs us, that when the great hall of Weſtminſter was finiſhed, in the year 1399, the king (Richard the Second) kept his Chriſtmas there, with daily juſtings and running at the tilt; and ſuch numbers came, that every day there were ſlain twenty-ſix, or twenty-eight oxen, and three hundred ſheep, beſides fowls without number.

And the old poet Harding, ſpeaking of this king's houſhold, ſays thus,

Harding's Chronicle, chap. 193. fol. 194.

Truely I heard Robert Ireleffe ſay
Clerke of the grene cloth, that to the houſhold
Came every day, for the moſt part alway
Ten thouſand folke, by his meſſes told
That followed the houſe, ay as they would
And in the kechin there hundreth ſervitours
And in eache office many occupiers.

MS. in the Harl. Lib. marked No. 279.

The feaſt made in honour of the nuptials of king Henry the Fourth, with the lady *Jane of Navar*, widow of *John de Montford* duke of *Britain*, in the year 1403, conſiſted of ſix courſes; the firſt three were of fleſh and fowls, the laſt three chiefly of fiſh: in order as follows,

Firſt Courſe:

Fylettes in galentyne: (*made of pork ſtewed in broth with bread*)—Uyaund ryall:—Groſs chaye: (*or fleſh, as beef or mutton*)—Signettys:—Capoun of haut giece: (*fat capons*)—Feſauntys:—Chewetys:—A ſotelte: (*or device, was figures made with jellies and confectionary, to be ſet in the middle of the table for ſhew, thence called a* ſotelte, *or ſubtilty*)

The

The Second Courſe.

Uenyſon with fermente: (*furmenty, or frumenty, was made of wheat and milk*)—Gelye:—Porcellys:—Conynge:—Bittore: (*perhaps bittern a water fowl*)—Pulcyng farcez:—Pertryche: (*partridges*)—Leche fryez: (*fried*) Brawne bruſe: (*boiled*)—A ſotelte.

The Third Courſe.

Creme de almaundys: (*this was made with almonds, ſtamped and done up with milk*)—Perys (*pears*) in ſyruppe:—Ueniſon roſted:—Ryde:—Woodecokke:—Ploveze:—Rabettys:—Quayly s:—Snytys: (*perhaps ſnipes*)—Feldfaze:—Cruſtade:—Sturgeon:—Fzettouze:—A ſoltelte.

The Order of the three Courſes of Fiſh.

The Firſt Courſe.

Uyaund ryall:—Sew lumbayde:—Salty fyſhe:—Lampreys pouderyd:—Pyke:—Breme:—Samoun roſtyd:—Cruſtade Lumbayde: (*made of cream, eggs, percely, dates, &c. baked.*)—A ſotelte.

The Second Courſe.

Purpays en fuzmente:—Gely:—Breme:—Samoun:—Congze:—Gurnayde:—Plays: (*plaice*)—Lampreys in paſt:—Leche fryez:—Panteryſe coronys, for a ſotelte—(*I ſhould fancy this means panthers with crowns upon their heads, made of ſome confectionary, for a device or ſubtilty.*

The Third Courſe.

Creme of almaunds:—Perys in ſyrippe:—Tenche enbrace:—Troutez:—Floundys fryid:—Perchys:—Lampzey roſted:—Lochys & colys:—Sturjoun:—Crabbe & creveys:—Grayſpeys:—Egle corzonys: (*an eagle crowned*) in ſotelte.

The feaſt made at the coronation of Catherine, the queen, and Henry the Vth the 24th of February 1419, conſiſted of three courſes, in order as follows, word for word from Fabian.

Firſt Courſe.

Brawne & muſtayde:—Ellys in buzneur:—Fzument with balien:—Pyke in ezbage:—Lampzey powderyd:—Throught:—Codlyng:—Playes fryed:—Wallyng fryed:—Crabbys:—Leche Lumbayde flouryſhed (*made of dates wine and ſugar, or elſe with yolks of eggs, with honey and milk.*)—Tartys:—And a ſotyltye called a Pellycane ſyttyng on hyr neſt, with hyr bydes, and an image

of

of Saynte Katheryne holdyng a boke, and dysputyng with the doctours, holdynge a reason in her ryghte hande, saynge "Madame le Royne," (*Madam the Queen*) and the Pellycan as an answere "Ce est la signe, et du Roy, pur tenir joy, et a tout sa gent elle mete sa entent," (*It is the King's desire that all his people should be joyful, and thus he make, his intentions publick.*

The Second Course.

Gely colourrd wyth columbyne floures: — Whyte potage, or creme of almandes: — Breme of the see: — Counger: — Solys: (*soles*)—Cheven:—Barbyll wyth roche: — Freshe samon: — Halybut:— Garnarde:—Rochet broyled: — Smelts fryed: — Crevys or lobster: — Leche damask, with the Kynges worde or proverb flourysshed, "Une sans plus," (*one alone*) — Lamprey freshe baken:—Flampeyne flourysshed wyth a scotchone royal and there in three crownes of gold plantyd with floure de lyce and floures of enamyll wrought of confeccions:—and a sotyltye named a Panter (*panther*) wyth an image of Saynte Katherine with a whele in her hande, and a rolle wyth a reason in her other hande sayeng, "La Royne ma file in ceste ile per bon reson aves renount," *The Queen my daughter, shall in this island meet with deserved fame.*

The Third Course.

Dates in compost:—Creme motle:—Carp de ore: (*that is fried in oil, with onions, and white bread crumbled.*)—Turbut:—Tenche:—Perche with goion: Fryshe sturgeon wyth welkes:—Porperies rosted:—Swannes fryed:—Crevys de eawe douce:—Pranys:—Elys rosted wyth lamprey:— A leche called the whyte leche flourysshed wyth hawthorne lewys and red hawys:— A march payne garnysshed wyth dyvers sygurs of angellys, amonge the whych was set an image of Saint Katheryne holdyng this reason, "Il est escrit par voir et eit, per mariage pur, cest guerre ne dure," *It is written, as may be heard and seen, that holy marriage shall put an end to this war.* — and lastly a sotyltye named a Tyger, lokynge in a myrour, and a man syttynge on horsebacke clene armed holdynge in hys armes a tyger whelpe with this reason, "Par force sanz reson je ay pryse cest beste," *by strength, not cunning, I have taken this beast*: and wyth his one hande makynge a countenaunce of throwynge of myrrours at the great tigre the whych held thys reason, "Gile de Mirrour ma fete distour;" *decieved by the mirrour, I have suffered this.*

And the same author (Fabian) thus describes the coronation feast of king Henry the Sixth, the 6th day of November 1429.

Fyrste Course.

Frument with Venison:—Uyand royall planted with losynges of gold:— Boyes hedes in castelles of golde enaymed: — Bese with motten boyled: — Capon stewyd:—Sygnet rosted:—Heyron rosted:—Great pyke, or luce; — A rede leche with lyons coruyn (cut) therein:—Custayd royall, with a leoparde of

of gold ſyttyng theꝛin, and holding a flouꝛe de lyce:—Frytour ſunne facyon, wyth a flouꝛe de lyce theꝛin:—A ſotyltye of Saint Edwaꝛde and Saynt Louys aꝛmyd, and uppon eyther his cote aꝛmouꝛe, holdynge betwene them a figuꝛe lyke unto King Henꝛy ſtandynge alſo in hys cote aꝛmouꝛe, and a ſcꝛyptuꝛe paſſyng ſyom theym both, ſeyeng, "Behold two parfight Kynges under one Cote Armoure;" and under the feete of the ſayde Sayntes was wryten this balade;

Holy Sayntes, Edward and Saynt Lowice
Conſerve this braunche born of your bleſſed blode
Lyve amonge Criſten moſte ſoveraygne of price
Enheritour of the flour de lice ſo gode
This Sixth Henry, to reygne and to be wyſe,
God graunt he may be to your mode
And that he may reſemble your knightehode and virtue,
Pray ye hertely unto Our Lord Jeſu.

The Seconde Courſe.

Uiand blank bayꝛed wyth gold:—Gely paꝛty wꝛyten and noted with "Te Deum laudamus:"—Pygge endoꝛed:—Cꝛane roſted:—Byttoꝛe:—Conyes:—Chekyns:—Paꝛtyche:—Pecok enhakyll: *(this I take to be the peacock brought to the table, with the feathers of the tail ſet up as though extended.)*—Gꝛeat bꝛeme:—A white leche planted wyth a red antelop, with a cꝛowne aboute his necke with a chayne of golde:—Flampayne powdeꝛed wyth leopaꝛdes and flouꝛ de lyce of golde:—A ſotyltie, an empeꝛour and a kynge aꝛayed in mantelles of gaꝛters, whych figuꝛed Sigiſmunde the empeꝛour and Henꝛy the Fifth and a figuꝛe lyke unto kyng Henꝛy the Sixth knelyng to foꝛe (*before*) them wyth this balade takkyd by hym:

Agayne miſcreauntes the Emperour Sigiſmunde
Hath ſhewed hys myght which is imperiall;
And Henry the Fifth a noble knight was founde
For Chriſtes cauſe in actes marciall,
Cheryſshed the churche, to Lollers gave a fall
Gyvyng example to Kynges that ſuccede,
And to theyr braunche here in eſpecial
Whyle he doth reygne to love God and drede.

The Third Courſe.

Quynces in compoſt:—Blaund ſuꝛe powdeꝛyd with quaꝛter foyles gylt:—Uenyſon:—Egꝛettes:—Cuꝛlews:—Cok and paꝛtyche:—Plover:—Quayles:—Snytes:—Gꝛeat bꝛydes:—Laꝛkys:—Cayre1—Cꝛabbe:—Lech of thꝛee colouꝛs:—A bake meat lyke a ſhylde (*ſhield*) quaꝛtered red and whyte, ſet wyth loſynges gylt and flouꝛes of boꝛage:—A fꝛytour cꝛyſped:—A ſotyltye of our Lady ſyttynge wyth her chylde in her lappe, and ſhe holding a cꝛowne in her hande. Saint Geoꝛge and Saynt Denys knelynge on either

ſyde,

ſyde, preſentyng to her Kyng Henryes figure, beyng in hande thys balade as followeth:

O bleſſed lady Chriſtes mother dere,
And thou Saynt George that called art her knight,
Holy Saint Denys O marter moſte entere;
The Sixt Henry here preſent in your ſyght;
Shedeth of your Grace on hym your heavenly lighte:
His tender youth with vertue doth avaunce,
Borne by diſcent, and by title of right,
Juſtly to reygne in Englande & in France, &c.

Having ſeen the kingly banquets, let us now ſee what tables were kept in general by the lords and grandees of the realm.

Hollingſhead, Deſcrip. Brit. 94.

Richard Nevil, earl of Warwick, (ſays Fabian) kept ſuch a houſe, that there were often ſix oxen eaten for a breakfaſt. And, ſays Hollingſhead, "In number of diſhes and change of meate, the nobilitie of Englande do moſt exceede, ſith there is no daye in maner that paſſeth over their heades, wherein they have not onely beefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kidde, pork, conie, capon, pigge, or ſo many of theſe as the ſeaſon yieldeth: but alſo ſome portion of the redde or fallow deere, beſide great varietie of fiſhe and wilde fowle, and thereto ſundrie other delicates, wherein the ſweet hand of the portingale is not wanting.

The chief part lykewyſe of their dayly proviſion is brought in before them, and placed on their tables, whereof when they have taken what it pleaſeth them, the reſt is reſerved, and afterward ſent downe to their ſerving men and waiters, who fed thereon in lyke ſort with convenient moderation, their reverſion alſo being beſtowed upon the poore, which lye ready at their gates in great numbers to receyve the ſame. This is ſpoken of the chiefe tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and gueſtes are accuſtomed to ſit; beſide which they have a certayne ordinarie allowaunce dayly appointed for their halles, where the chiefe officers and houſholde ſervaunts, (for all are not permitted to wayte uppon theyr maiſter) and with them ſuch inferiour gueſtes do feede as are not of calling to aſſociate with the noble man himſelf: ſo that beſides thoſe afore mencioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonly fourte or threeſcore perſons fed in thoſe halles, to the great reliefe of ſtrangers, as oft be partakers thereof. As for drincke, it is not uſually ſet on the table in pottes or cruſes, but each one calleth for a cup of ſuch as he liſteth to have, or as neceſſitie urgeth him: ſo that when he hath taſted of it, he delivereth the cuppe againe to ſome one of the ſtanders by, who making it cleane, reſtoreth it to the cubborne, from whence he fetched the ſame: By this occaſion much ydle tippling is furthermore cut of, &c."

"Nevertheleſs, in any other than noblemens halles, this order is not uſed, neyther in any man's houſe commonly under the degree of a knight or ſquire of great revenues. The gentlemen and merchants keepe much about one rate, and eache of them contenteth himſelfe with foure, or five or ſixe dithes, when they have but ſmall reſorte, or peradventure with one, or two, or three at moſt, when they have no ſtraungers to accompanie them at their owne table. And after, he adds, when the merchant makes a feaſt, he will ſeldome regarde any thing

thing that the butcher uſually killeth, but reject the ſame as not worthie to come in place. In ſuch caſes alſo geliffes, conſerves, ſuckettes, codinaes, marmilates, marchepaine, ſugred bread, ginger breade, florentines, wild fowle, veniſons of all ſortes. And after ſpeaking of the liquors, he tells us, that there were wines of all ſorts to be had in England; nevertheleſs, (adds he) ale and beere beare the greateſt brunt in drincking, which are of ſo many ſortes and ages as it pleaſeth the brewar to make them. The bere that is uſed at noblemens tables, is commonly of a yeare olde, (or peradventure of twoo yeres tunning or more, but this is not general) it is alſo brued in Marche, and is therefore called Marche bere, but for the houſehold it is uſually not under a monethes age, eache one coveting to have the ſame ſtale as he might, ſo that was not ſoure, and the breade new as poſſible, ſo that be not hote."

He after adds, "The artificer and huſbandman make greateſt account of ſuch meate as they maye ſooneſt come by and have it quicklyeſt readie: their foode alſo conſiſteth principally in beefe and ſuch meate as the butcher ſelleth, that is to ſay mutton, veal, lamb, pork, &c."

The marriages, chriſtenings, and other appertaining ceremonies, were throughout the whole of this Æra, exactly the ſame with thoſe at preſent uſed, and therefore do not require any explanation here: we will then paſs on to their

BURIALS.

When a man lay upon his death bed, the prieſt was ſent for, and he was confeſſed, and received abſolution; and that done, the prieſt adminiſtered the holy ſacrament, with the extreme unction. In his laſt moments he was attended by his deareſt friends, and when he had breathed his laſt, his eyes were cloſed by his neareſt relations. Thus Mathew Paris ſpeaks of Offa the Firſt, "He piouſly haveing cloſed his father's eyes, and with great lamentation mourned his loſs." This done, a linen cloth was put over the face of the deceaſed. Thus we are told, that Henry the Fourth, in his laſt illneſs, ſeeming to be dead, his chamberlain covered his face with a linen cloth. Mat. Paris, in Vit. Offa prim. Holling-ſhead's Chron. page 1162.

Then the relations withdrew, and the body was waſhed, anointed, and laid out, and afterwards wrapped up in linen cloths.

Mathew Paris informs us, that Henry, the eldeſt ſon of our king Henry the Second, (who was crowned in his father's life time) died in the 30th year of his (Henry the Second's) reign, and his dead body was wrapped in thoſe very linen clothes that at his coronation were imbrued with the holy oil: and the body thus wrapped up, was conveyed to the place of burial. Stow's Chron. 127.

Kings and other great perſonages were embalmed, the method of doing which was as follows: The brain was taken out of the head, and the body was opened and the bowels alſo taken out, which, together with the brain, were carefully buried, and then the vacuities were filled up with ſome kind of preparations, for the preſervation of the corps. Henry the Firſt, (ſays Treviſa) "being dede hys bowels weze drawe oute of hys bodye, & his brayne taken oute of his heede, and the body ſalted with moch ſalt, and for to avoide the ſtenche that had infected many men, it was at laſt cloſed in a boole skynn." Polychron. lib. 7, cap. 17.

Alſo the dead body of Richard the Firſt had the bowels and heart taken out, when theſe verſes were made thereon: Uyſcera Carleolum corpus fons ſervat Ebardy, et cor Rothmagum magne Ricarde tuum, in terra dividitur unus, quia plus fuit uno, non ſuper eſt uno gracia tanto viro. That is, Oh mighty Richard, thy bowels are buried at *Carliſle*, thy body at *Fonteuard*, and thy heart at *Rhoan*; thus in the earth art thou divided, who in thy life time wert more than one; for in one man the equal is not to be found. And, ſays the Dunſtable Chronicle, "whenne kyng Henry wyſte and knewe verryly that he (King Richard the Second) was dede, he lette fere hym in the beſt manner, and cloſed him in a feyre cheſte, with divers ſpices and baumes & cloſed him in a lynnen clothe ſave his viſage, and that was left oppyn that men myght ſee & knowe his perſonne." By ſome authors it is ſaid that antiently (particularly in the reigns of Henry the Fourth) they uſed a ſort of pickle; but this ſeems only to confirm what the Polychronicon aſſerts of Henry the Firſt, that the body was ſalted with moch ſalt, which ſalt through the dampneſs of the ſtone coffin, and place where the body was depoſited, might melt and become a kind of brine.

Ibid, lib. 7, cap. 31, fol. 37°.

Dunſtable Chronicle, fol. 164. MS. in Bib. Harl.

After this ceremony of embalming, ſalting, or the like, the dead body of a king was royally habited, with all his enſigns of regality; and thus laid a certain time in ſtate, with tapers burning on either ſide, and the attendants ſitting round in cloſe mourning, with black hoods over their heads: ſee the manner thereof plate 6, fig. 19, this repreſentation is copied from the old miſſal called the *Liber Regalis*, (written as is ſuppoſed for the coronation of Richard the Second) this figure it is likely may be intended for king Henry the Third, who enlarged and rebuilt great part of the abby: it is placed as a frontiſpiece to the funeral ceremonies, as performed at the enterments of the kings, who were there buried. And in this manner the kings (meaning in the Norman æra) were carried to the place of burial, for ſays Mathew Paris, ſpeaking of King Henry the Second, "In the morning he was carried forth to be buried, habited in his royal robes, with his face uncovered, and a golden crown upon his head, gloves upon his hands, ſhoes wrought with gold upon his feet, and ſpurs; having a ſcepter in his hand, a large ring upon his finger, and his ſword was girt round him." In the Engliſh æra the king's body was faſt cloſed up in lead, and an image made like him, royally habited, was laid upon the coffin: thus (ſays Caxton) the bodye of kynge Henre the fifthe was enbamed, cered, and cloſed in lede, and layde in ryal chare, & an ymage like unto hym, (artificially moulded, as Stow informs us, with boiled hides, * and the countenance painted according to the life) upon the head of this image was put an imperial diadem of gold, ſet with pretious ſtones; the body was clothed in a purple robe, furred with ermine; in its right hand was placed a ſcepter royal, and a globe of gold in the left.

Addit. to Polychronicon, lib. 8, cap. 15. Stow's Chron. Speed, 808.

The archbiſhops, biſhops, and abbots, with other principals of the clergy, were buried in their *pontificalibus*; thus ſays Mathew Paris, "they prepared the body of Hubert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the burial clothing him in his robes, (according to the method of interring a prelate) with his face uncovered, and a mitre put upon his head, with gloves upon his hands, a ring on his finger,

* The head of this image muſt have been wood; for in the abbey of Weſtminſter (where he was buried) there are the heads of ſeveral images yet preſerved of kings there buried, one of which it is ſaid belonged to the image mentioned here, of Henry the Fifth: theſe figures are now ſo diſmally decayed, and the garments wherewith they were dreſſed up, ſo ſhattered and torn, that they are ludicrouſly called the Ragged Regiment.

finger, and all the other ornaments belonging to his office." See plate 33, fig. 4, of the firſt volume, which repreſents the entombing of a biſhop; the original is drawn by the hand of Mathew Paris.

The bodies of other great men, were alſo nobly habited according to their rank. King Richard the Second, (ſays Grafton) cauſed the dead body of Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, to be arraied in princely garments, garniſhed with a chain of gold, and rich rings put upon his fingers, with his face uncovered. Grafton, 377. Hollingſ. 1087.

The bodies of the kings and noblemen were carried on biers, upon mens ſhoulders, with great pomp; or elſe, if the way was long, they were put upon royal chars or hearſes.

In all the plates of the Saxon and Norman æras, which repreſent interments, we do not meet with any of the bodies encloſed in lead; neither in the hiſtories do we find any authentic account that this cuſtom was practiced by them, as it was afterwards in the Engliſh æra: for in former times we may find, that the bodies of kings and other great men, were laid (as we have already ſeen) upon the bier, habited according to their dignity, and carried to the grave with their faces bared.

In the Engliſh æra this cuſtom was ſuppreſſed, and the bodies cloſe done up for the moſt part in lead; and an image dreſſed up (in like manner as the real body was formerly) borne before them.

Stow indeed tells us, that at the ſuppreſſion of Feverſham abbey in Kent, the remains of king Stephen's corps were infamouſly caſt into the river, for the ſake of the lead, wherein they were incloſed: but this might be only a lining to the ſtone cheſt, or coffin, in which he was laid: for the body was not put into theſe great wooden cheſts, or ſtone coffins, till the time of the interment: thus Stow ſpeaking of the burial of the Conqueror, ſays, "Now maſs being ended, the maſons had prepared the ſtone cheſt, or coffin, in the earth, while the body yet remained on the bier, in order as it had been brought forth."

Geofry Magneville, or Mandeville, in the reign of Henry the Firſt, dying under the curſe of excommunication, might not be buried; therefore ſome of the Knights Templars incloſed him in a pipe of lead, (ſays Camden) and hung him upon a tree in an orchard, at the old temple; Weever inſtead of a pipe of lead, has it a leaded coffin: but be it as it will, this ſingular circumſtance can by no means prove the wrapping of bodies up in lead, as was afterwards practiſed in the Æra of the Engliſh, as we may ſee from the following inſtances: Edward the Black Prince being dead, his body was (ſays Froiſſart) embaſme et mis en ung vaiſſeau de plonc̃q. *Embalmed, and put in a veſſel of lead:* and Richard the Second, when dead, his corps, as Harding informs us, was lapped in lede, and ſo alſo was the corps of Henry the Fifth, as we have ſeen already. Camden's Brit. in Eſſex, fol. 353. Weever's Funeral Monuments. Harding's Chron. cap. 200, fol. 199

Funeral Proceſſions.

King Edward the Firſt, when his beloved Queen Eleanor was dead, cauſed her corps to be brought from Herdeby in Lincolnſhire, to London, in ſolemn proceſſion; Walſingh. in Vit. Ed. 1

proceſſion; and at every place where the body was reſted on the way to Weſtminſter, he cauſed a beautiful croſs to be erected.*

Froiſſart, vol. 2.

The body of Edward the Third, was carried in great proceſſion (ſays Froiſſart) upon an open hearſe, through the city of London to Weſtminſter, through crowds of people, who with tears and lamentations bewailed their loſs. The corps was followed by his children, together with the nobles and prelates in a great company.

Addit. to the Polychron. fol. 401, cap. 9. lib. 8.

The funeral proceſſion of Richard the Second, is thus deſcribed by Caxton: "The twelveſt daye of Maythe was the bodye of the noble Kynge Rychard broughte thurgh London to Pawles;" where, ſays Harding,

Harding's Chron. chap. 200, fol. 199.

——— His maſſe was done and dirige
In hers royal; ſemely to royalte
The Kyng and Lordes, clothes of golde there offerde
Some eight, ſome nine, upon his hers were profferde.

Caxton ut Supra.

And, continues Caxton, The body of this Kynge was leyd on a charyotte coverid with black, and foure banners, whereof tweyne were of the armes of Saynt George & tweyne of the armes of Saynt Edward, and there were an hundred men clothed in black, eche berynge a torche, and the cyte of London hadde thyrtty men in white, eche berynge alſo a torche. His corps was embalmed and ſeared, and covered entirely with lead (the viſage excepted) whyche was leyd open, that every man might ſee and knowe he was dede. And from thence the dead body was carried to Langley, where it was firſt buried; but afterwards, continues the ſame author, Henry the Fifth in the firſt yere of his Reygne, anone after he was crowned whiche was the nynthe day of Apryll, he ſente to the freres at Langley where the body of Kynge Richard the Second was buried; and lete the body be take out of therth ageyne, and did do bringe it to Weſtmynſtre in a ryal chare, covered with black velvet, and banners of diverſe armes about, and alle the horſes in the chare were covered with blac, and beten with diverſe armes, and many a torche brennyng, † by the chare till they cam to Weſtmynſtre, and there he lete make a ryall terment, and buryed hym by Quene Anne hys Wyf, as his deſyre was, about whoſe ſepulcre ther ſtande foure grete tapers contynuelly brennynge, and one day in the weke perpetuelly he hath a dirige, with nyne leſſons, and on the morne a maſſe, both by note, ſolempnly, on whiche daye is gyven alſo wekely in pens to poure peple, enleven ſchyllynges, and eyght pens; all ordeyned by this Kyng upon grete payne; and on the day of his annyverſary is yerely gyven twenty pond, in pens to pour peple.

Hollingſ. Chron. fol. 1130.

Addit. ad Polychron. lib. 8, cap. 13, fol. 406.

Stow's Chron. p. 362. Caxton. Hollingſ. p. 1218. Speed 808.

King Henry the Fifth died at *Boys de Vyncent* near *Paris*, then his body being firſt embalmed, and wrapped in ſear-cloths, was cloſed in lead, and laid upon a royal char or hearſe; and on the corps there was laid an image, made to repreſent the dead king, richly habited: the char was covered with red velvet, embroidered with gold, and drawn by four horſes, whoſe capariſons were richly worked with gold, and imboſs'd with the royal arms; firſt, the arms of England alone; ſecondly, the Engliſh arms, quartered with thoſe of France; thirdly, the French arms alone; and laſtly, the ancient arms of St. Edmund. Over the

* She hath (ſays Fabian, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Seventh) 2 were tapers brennyng upon her tombe (at Weſtminſter-Abbey) bothe daye & nyghte, which ſo hathe contynued ſyne the day of her buryenge to thys preſent daye.—Fabian's Chron. vol. 2, fol. 61.

† The burning of torches was very honourable, and the number was proportioned to the quality or riches of the deceaſed; and to have a great many was a ſpecial mark of eſteem in the perſon who made the funeral to the departed perſon. Thus, ſays Froiſſart, Richard the Second, in token of his great love for Anne his firſt wife cauſed ſo many torches and tapers to be lighted up, that the like was never ſeen before. Froiſſart, vol. 4.

the char was borne a rich canopy by four noblemen. Thus was the body brought in ſolemn proceſſion, both by land and ſea, to England, accompanied by James king of Scotland, and a numerous company of noblemen both of England and of France. The char was ſurrounded with a great number of men clothed in white, bearing torches in their hands; and then followed the late king's houſhold ſervants, all in black, and after them the princes, lords, and eſtates, every one in mourning garments; and laſt of all the queen, with her retinue, came after the corps at the diſtance of two miles. In every towne (ſays Caxton) that he paſſed by the waye he hadde ſolempnly his dirige atte even, & maſſe on the morn, and moche almeſſe was gyven to powre people, & the ſeventhe daye of Novembre after, the corps was brought thurgh London with grete reverence & ſolempnyte unto the monaſtreye of Weſtmin-ſter, where as he nowe reſteth, where he is dayly remembrid & praid for, & every day thre maſſes perpetuelly ſongen in a fayr chapel over his ſepulcre. (We are to remember that Caxton printed his Polychronicon in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Seventh, long before the Reformation, ſo that at this time the maſſes yet continued to be ſung, as well as the tapers burning; that he tells us were in his time to be ſeen round the tomb of king Richard the Second.)

Addit. to the Polychron. by Caxton, lib. 8, cap. 15, fol. 411.

In this manner the nobles and perſons of condition, had their funerals performed, with grand proceſſion and like ſolemnities, according to their rank and circumſtances. Sir Robert Knolles (in the eight year of Henry IV.) died at his manor in Norfolk, and his dead body was brought in a litter to London, with great pomp and much torch light, and it was buried in the White Friars Church, Fleet-Street, by the ſide of his lady Conſtance, "where was done for him a ſolemne obſequie, with a great feaſt and lyberall dole to the poore." This cuſtom of giving a *funeral feaſt* to the chief mourners, was univerſally practiſed all over the kingdom, as well as giving alms to the poor, in proportion to the quality and finances of the deceaſed.

Hollingſ. Chron. p. 1152.

Coffins, Tombs, &c.

The bodies of the common people moſt likely, not only in the Norman, but alſo in the Engliſh æra, were only wrapped in cloth, and ſo put into the earth. In this manner (ſays Mathew Paris) were the monks of St. Albans buried; but, adds he, at this preſent time (that is in his life time, during the reign of Henry the Third) they are all decently buried in coffins of ſtone.

Mat. Paris.

Stone coffins continued long in general uſe; the form and ornaments are ſeen in plates 49, 45, & 66, &c. in the firſt volume: afterwards, eſpecially in the reigns of Henry the Fifth and Sixth, theſe ſtone coffins were made with necks, diſtinguiſhing the heads and ſhoulders.

Large *wooden cheſts* or *tombs* were alſo in uſe almoſt from the time of the Conqueſt. King Richard the Second, as a ſpecial mark of love to the duke of Ireland, cauſed his corps to be encloſed in a coffin of cypreſs; but this was an uncommon caſe.

Of the large wooden cheſts I have myſelf ſeen ſeveral very ancient; and the covers to theſe cheſts are often elegantly carved with the effigy of the perſon therein buried. At Little Baddow in the county of Eſſex, in the pariſh church, are the figures of two women carved on the covering of the cheſts (that are placed

placed in nitches of the church wall) wherein they were buried, which through age are both ſo much decayed, that the bones and remains of the bodies are to be ſeen therein under the covers.

At other times the grave was dug down in the church, and a flat ſtone, with plates of braſs (containing the name and epitaph of the perſon there buried) laid over; and ſometimes beſides there was added the effigy alſo engraved on the braſs: and theſe are of very ancient date.

Altar tombs, either with or without figures, croſſes, or the like ornaments, are as old as the time of the Saxons.

Addit. to the Polychron. lib. 8, fol. 413, cap. 21.

It was a conſtant practice to make a ſolemn dirge and mourning for princes of foreign courts when they deceaſed. Thus Caxton tells us, that "in the fyrteenth yeer of Kynge Harry (the Sixth) deyde Sygyſmund, Emperour of Almayne (Germany) & Knyght of the gayter, whoſe tezment the Kynge kept at Paulys in London ryally, where was made a ryal hezſe, and the Kynge in his eſtate clad in blewe was at even at dirige, and on the morne at maſſe." And in like manner the compliment was returned by the foreign courts, when any king or prince of England died.

RELIGION.

The Roman Catholic religion univerſally prevailed, notwithſtanding the ſeveral efforts of ſome of our kings, to ſhake off the power and ſupremacy of the Pope; for ſuch was the ſuperſtition of the people, and the dread of his thundring *anathema*, that it was never compleatly maſtered, till the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Blindneſs and ſuperſtition always marked out this religion; for unleſs the wileful prieſts could keep the people in profound ignorance, how could they expect to force ſuch horrid impoſitions upon their reaſon, as the long train of miracles, and other religious juggles? it is true indeed (to give every one their due) that they did all they could to diſcourage vice, in any but themſelves; for they painted the pains of Hell in the moſt horrid manner: theſe are put forth in a book called, The Shepherd's Calender, and given in a monkiſh tale, as ſeen by Lazarus, while he lay in the tomb, and by him related when raiſed to life again by our bleſſed Saviour: it runs thus,

"Here followeth the pains of hell comminatories of ſinnes, to puniſh the ſins, as Lazarus recounted after that he was riſen, as he had ſeen in the parts infernal, as it appeareth by theſe figures enſuing one another.

Sheperd's Calender.

Firſt, ſaid Lazarus, *I have ſeen in hell wheels right high, ſet on an hill, the which was to look on in maner of mils, inceſſantly turning about by great impetuoſity, roaring and whirling as it were thunder. And the wheles were fixed full of hockes and cramp irons of yron and ſteel, and on them were hanged and turned the proud men and women for their pride, with their prince, captain, and maſter Lucifer.*

Secondly, ſaid Lazarus, *I have ſeen in hell a floud frozen as ice, wherein the envious men and women were plunged unto the navel, and then ſuddenly came over them a right cold and great wind, that greeved and pained them right ſore, and when they would evite and eſchewe the wonderfull blaſts of the wind, they plunged into the water with great ſhouts and crys lamentable to hear.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, ſaid Lazarus, *I have ſeen in hell a great cave tenebrous and obſcure, full of tables like butchers ſtalls or great butchery, whereas irefull men and women were thorow pierced with trenching knives, and ſharpe glaives, and with long ſpears pierced their bodys, wherewith the moſt horible and fearful butchers hewed and betrenched them with their glaves and knives, impitiouſly without ceaſing.*

Fourthly, ſaid Lazarus, *I have ſeen in hell an horible hall dark and tenebrous, wherein was a great multitude of ſerpents big and ſmall, whereas ſlothful men and women were tormented with bitings and ſtingings of venemous worms, the which pierced them thorow in divers partes of their bodies, wounding them to the heart with unextinguiſhed pain.*

Fifthly, ſaid Lazarus, *I have ſeen in the infernall partes a great number of wide cauldrons, and kettles, full of boiling lead and oyle, with other hot metals molten, in the which were plunged and dipped the covetous men and women, for to fulfill and repleniſh them of their inſatiate covetiſe.*

The ſixth pain, ſaid Lazarus, *that I have ſeen (in hel is in a vale) a floud ſoul and ſtinking at the brim, in which was a table with towels right diſhoneſtly, whereas gluttons be fed with toades and other venemous beaſts, and had to drink of the water of the ſaid floud.*

The ſeventh pain, ſaid Lazarus, *I have ſeen a field ful of deepe wells repleniſhed with fire and ſulphur, whereout iſſhued ſmoak thick and contagious, wherein all lecherous perſons were tormented inceſſantly with devils.*

Thus endeth the ſeven deadly ſins, figured each by itſelf, like as Lazarus had ſeen in the parts infernal."

And to every one of the above puniſhments, is prefixed a wood cut rudely done, repreſenting the torments, as they are there deſcribed, with a long commentation on each particular vice.

On the other hand they painted Heaven, and the new Jeruſalem as a holy place, a golden city paved with diamonds; where continual joys and boundleſs happineſs reigned for ever.

Many of their religious allegories and fables are replete with excellent morals; in the above quoted book, is "The man in the ſhip, that ſheweth the unſtableneſs of the world:" firſt we are preſented with a rude wood cut, repreſenting a man on ſhip board at the helm, ſteering the ſhip; behind is the Devil puſhing it onwards, and ſtriving to ſink it; the man ſeems to be earneſtly, and humbly addreſſing himſelf to Chriſt, who appears above in the clouds, as ready to protect him. Then follows this poem.

God guide me right, that once I might
Come to the port of peace,
Mine exchange make, & return take,
That mine enemies may ceaſe.
One me followed, would me have ſhallowed,
In the gulph dangerous,
With worldly gloſſe, he doth me toſſe
Among the waves perillous.

On

On raſes hollow, ſome do me follow,
Enemies me to take,
A great number, do ſmite me under,
I fear I can't eſcape.
The fiend with woe, the world alſo,
My fleſh too doth me trouble,
In wake & ſleep, they with me keep,
My ſorrows makeing double.
They bid me not ſpare, but buy their ware,
As worldly vanity;
They ſay hope among, us for to live long,
Thus do they cumber me.
The world doth ſmile, me to beguile,
& ſo doth the other two,
Now muſt I ſeek, ſome me to keep,
& ſave me from my foe;
I have found one, ev'n God alone,
I need none other aid.
He by his might, put them to flight,
& made them all afraid.
He ſpake to me, full courteouſly,
& profered me full fair,
If I do well, with him to dwell,
In heaven to be his heir.

Though nothing can be ſaid in praiſe of the poetry, any further than its good intention, yet the pertinent and ſubſtantial remarks which follow in proſe, may well be thought worthy our notice. It runs thus:

The mortall man living in this World, is well compared to a ſhip on the ſea, or on a perrilous river, bearing rich marchandiſe, which if it come to the port where the marchant deſireth, he ſhall be happy & rich. The ſhip, as ſoon as it is entered into the ſea, unto the end of her voyage night & day is in perill to be drowned or taken with enemies, for in the ſea be perilis without number. Such is the body of man living in this World, the marchandiſe that he beareth is his ſoul, his vertues and good Workes, the port or haven is death & paradiſe for the good, to the which he that arriveth ſhall be ſoverraignly rich; the ſea is the World full of ſinnes: for he that paſſeth it is in perill to loſe both body & ſoul, & be drowned in the ſea of deſtruction, from which God keep us. Amen.

We (in this more improved age) are too apt to caſt many valuable things aſide, becauſe they are written in a low and homely ſtile; we think that ſuch plainneſs can never be accompanied with any thing elegant, or worth our trouble to examine into. But moſt certainly this is a very miſtaken notion, for many of the old books contain both various and valuable treaſures, that will amply reward the curious mind for the pains and trouble taken to ſearch them over. We muſt (or at leaſt we ought) to recollect that the people in general, in

former

former times were very ignorant and unlearned, and their notions of courſe were narrow and confined; therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to reduce the ſcheme of religion to their underſtanding, as Milton has perſonated and given bodies to his angels, that their wars and the heavenly commotions might be adapted to our corporeal ideas: for ſays Raphael,

High matter thou injoinſt me, O prime of men,
Sad taſk and hard; for how ſhall I relate
To human ſenſe th' inviſible exploits
Of warring ſpirits? how without remorſe
The ruin of ſo many glorious once
And perfect while they ſtood? how laſt unfold
The ſecrets of another world, perhaps
Not lawful to reveal? Yet for thy good
This is diſpens'd; and what ſurmounts the reach
Of human ſenſe, I ſhall deliver ſo,
By likening ſpiritual to corporeal form
As may expreſs them beſt:——

Parad. Loſt, Book V. line 359, et infra.

and in the ſame manner, antiently, they made the tortures of hell, and adapted them to the capacities of their readers.—They alſo found that avarice was a prevailing paſſion, (though few men could ever be brought to acknowledge it in themſelves) therefore a heaven was deſcribed agreeable to the moſt ſanguine deſires of the people in general. They were taught to believe that the ſtreets of Paradiſe were paved with diamonds and precious ſtones, with great abundance of every valuable treaſure, joined with perfect happineſs and laſting felicity.—All theſe religious leſſons might, perhaps, have loſt great part of their effect, had not the things to come been compared and likened to thoſe that they at the preſent time poſſeſſed and approved of; and indeed it is moſt likely that the aſſurance of ſuch a heaven, (according to the preſent ideas of the world in general) would even now make a great many Proſelytes; for money ſeems no whit to have loſt ground in the affections of the people. Attending properly to theſe conſiderations, we may eaſily winnow the chaff from the grain, and by taking only a little trouble to compare the writings with the genius of the people, reap a very fruitful harveſt.

The reliques of ſaints were with great reverence and devotion treaſured up as ſacred and holy. It would be impoſſible to enumerate the many wonderful and extraordinary miracles performed by theſe reliques in almoſt every age.—William Duke of Normandy, when he had prepared all things neceſſary for his invaſion of England, was yet detained ſome time (ſays the Polychronicon) by contrary winds: then he made brynge out ſeynt Waleryns body bodye, and ſette hym there oute for to have wynde, and anon lykyng wynde (a fair wind) fylled the ſelles.—Had the unhappy Grecian chief but been poſſeſſed of ſuch a relique, his daughter *Iphigenia* had never been ſacrificed to the inexorable deities; this equalled the bags of wind poſſeſſed by *Ulyſſes*, and given him by the bluſtering *Æolus*, or the knotted cords ſold to the ſailors in the days of yore by the Lapland ſorcerers.

Polychronicon, Lib. 6. Cap. 29. Edit. Caxton, fol. 327.

We find many zealouſly religious, quitting the higheſt poſts of honour to follow a ſecluſe and holy life. Such pleaſures they thought were enjoyed by the pious monks and hermits. Henry the Second, and his queen, being crowned at a feſtival, took off their crowns, and offered them upon the high altar, forbearing to wear them afterwards. In expiation for the murder of Thomas Becket, the ſame king walked bare-footed to the tomb of that proud prelate, and there was ſcourged with rods by the attendant monks. The ſame zeal hurried the princes of Europe to impoveriſh their ſubjects with grievous taxations, to ſupport the Holy Wars.

Mat. Paris, in Vit.H. 2.

Ibid.

Of all the ſects which ſprung up, and the oppoſers of Popery, John Wickliff, our own countryman, (who flouriſhed during the reign of Richard the Second) deſervedly ſtands foremoſt. He boldly (in deſpite of the Pope's ſo much dreaded curſe of excommunication) preached up *regal ſupremacy*, againſt papall uſurpation; as alſo he ſpoke againſt the *maſs*, *tranſubſtantiation*, the adoration of the *hoſt*, or of *ſaints*, of *images*, and of *reliques*; and further preached againſt the *friarly orders*, *pilgrimages*, *indulgences*, and the like: his followers were called *Lolards*, (which, ſays Speed, ſignifies an evil offenſive weed). In the reign of Henry the Fifth, they were purſued with uncommon ſeverity; for they were ſtigmatiſed as Hereticks, and cruelly burnt alive, or otherways diſmally miſuſed.

Speed's Chronicle, P. 744.

Arts and Learning, &c.

In ſculpture how much they excelled in this Æra, the many curious monumental images and ſtatues preſerved in the cathedral churches, are ſufficient proofs; many of which are moſt elegantly executed.

Painting at the end of this Æra, may be ſaid as it were, to be revived from a deep ſleep: the only antient ſpecimens of this art, that we have now left, are ſuch ſmall illuminations as appear in the MSS. and from which curious remains the chief materials of this work are collected.

Seres tells us, that there was ſent to king Henry the Fifth, a portrait of Catharine, the French king's daughter, done according to the life: but of what ſize, or in what manner it was done, we are not informed: however, at the latter end of the reign of his ſon, (Henry the Sixth) they began to paint in oil, as may be proved by four curious ſpecimens, painted on pannels, which compoſed a door of ſome cabinet, or ſhrine, belonging to the abbey of St. Albans; thereon are pictured the portraits of cardinal Beaufort, Humphry duke of Gloceſter, &c. theſe truly valuable curioſities, are in the poſſeſſion of John Ives, Eſq; of Great Yarmouth in Norfolk.

John Seres Hiſt. Franc.

About this period alſo engravings both on wood and copper, made their firſt appearance, as may be ſeen by the remaining old prints of Andrew Mantagna, Martin Schoon, Albert Durer, &c. the wood cuts were chiefly deſigned, and made as ornaments to the old printed books.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, was firſt diſcovered that glorious and noble art of printing; which, ſays the Nuremberg Chronicle, (that was printed in the year 1493) we owe to the ſtudy and induſtry of the Germans. At Mentz,

Hartman's Chronicle, fol. 252.

Mentz, a city upon the Rhine, was this curious diſcovery made; and the firſt book (as it was ſaid) made its appearance in the year 1440. It is extraordinary that tho' the above mentioned Chronicle was printed but 43 years after the invention of printing, it makes no mention of the firſt authors of this noble art. William Caxton, mercer and citizen of London, firſt introduced printing into England, about the year of our Lord 1471.

Mathematics and arithmetic were well underſtood: the combination of numbers was particularly ſerviceable, not only in their computations of time, but in the aſtrological predictions. And great credit was placed in judicial aſtrology for they imagined that every ſublunary being was under the government of the ſtars and planets.

Numerical figures are ſuppoſed to have been introduced intoEngland in the thirteenth century: before that time they uſed only letters and marks, to aſcertain their dates and numbers; which are alſo uſed at preſent.

We do not meet with the accounts of many mechanical productions. It is certain, that within this laſt two centuries, the improvements made in mechaniſm, are ſurpriſingly great; yet the many ſtately edifices of our forefathers, are ſufficient proofs that they muſt have had a vaſt number of different machines that we know not of, tho' perhaps not ſo compleat, and well conſtructed as our own.

In the catalogue of the benefactors to the abbey of St. Albans, we are told that in the year 1328, Richard de Wallingford, then abbot, gave a clock to the abbey church; which greatly exceeded any that had ever been ſeen before in this kingdom. MS. in the Cotton Library, mark'd Nero. D.vii.

I have not been able to aſcertain the date of the firſt invention of clocks in England. Stow, indeed, tells us, that in the year 612, both clocks and dials were commanded to be ſet up in churches; but Stow muſt have been miſtaken in regard to clocks, for had they been known as early as the time of Elfred, (a king ſo remarkable for his encouragement of the arts) he would not have been obliged to have had recourſe to a candle, divided into 24 equal parts, to diſtinguiſh the hours as they paſſed. But ſome motion of this ſort muſt have been made in the reign of Henry the Second; for we are told, that Roſamond had a coffer, wherein were repreſented various figures moveing like life, as giants, beaſts, and birds flying to and fro. Stow's Chron. p. 56. Vide vol. 1. p. 72. Polychron. lib. 7.

We have already ſeen the muſical inſtruments of this Æra, and from hiſtory we learn, that ſeveral excellent muſicians flouriſhed in the various reigns, as well as many learned men, both hiſtorians and divines.

There lived alſo many great philoſophers, who made ſtrict reſearches into the nature of things, and ſtrove to explain and reduce all things to a rational ſyſtem: they made, as it were in a chain, the ſubordination of beings, from the higheſt heavenly power (under God) to an atom. Nuremberg Chron. f. 6.

God, omnipotent, omniſcient, eternal, perfect, good, and holy, firſt made the heavens (which are three in number) *; and placed therein the ſacred celeſtial hoſt of ſpiritual beings: the higheſt heaven was the happy ſeat of the ſeraphim, the cherubim, and thrones; in the middle heaven he placed dominations,

* Saint Paul tells us that he was "caught up into the Third Heaven." Second Epiſt. Corinthians, chap. 12, ver. 2.

ons, principalities, and powers; and the loweſt heaven was aſſigned to the virtues, archangels, and angels, (and theſe under their great creator ruled all things either in heaven, or in earth) and from them to man; from him to beaſts, birds, and fiſhes, in the animal world; from thence to trees, ſhrubs, and plants, in the vegetable world; and ſo on to ſtones, metal, and ores, in the mineral world: all theſe, from man, were compoſed by a union of the four elements, under the influence of the ſtars and planets, or rather of the intelligences, and heavenly ſpirits, who governed thoſe planets. Man was united to the higher powers by a reaſonable and immortal ſpirit, called the ſoul.

Abrahe. Avenaris Judei Aſtrol.

Compilatio Leupoldi de Aſtrorum Scientia.

The planetary ſyſtem is thus divided: firſt the *Primum Mobile*, or firſt motion; ſecondly, the Chriſtaline Heaven,* in which are placed the fixed ſtars; thirdly, the twelve ſigns of the zodiac; and fourthly follows the ſpheres, or circles of the planets, in this order; Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and laſt the Moon, as neareſt the earth, which was placed in the midſt of univerſal nature. Again the earth was ſurrounded by three elementary ſpheres, as the fiery ſphere, the ſphere of air, and the watery ſphere: in the middle of the world, (as the ſink of all nature) was Hell placed, for ſays a little book entitled,

Image of the World, cap. viii.

L'ymaige du Monde,—Saches que en la terre eſt enfer, car enfer ne pouʒʒoit eſtʒe en ſi noble lieu comme eſt lair, ne il ne pouʒʒoit eſtʒe ou ciel qui eſt ſi bel et ſi cler, et enfer eſt tant hideux tant puant eſt tant horrible et plus peſant que nul le choſe, parquoy on peult bein entendre que enfer dobt eſtʒe au plus bas lieu. *Know that Hell is within the earth, for it cannot be in a pleaſant place as the air, neither can it be in heaven, which is ſo clear and bright; and Hell itſelf is ſo hideous, ſtinking, and diſmal, and the moſt heavy of all things; therefore we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that it ſhould be in the loweſt place.* And again in an old tract of rhimes, quoted by Hearne is this verſe:

Hearne's Gloſſ. to Robert de Brunne's Chronicle, fol. 583, vol. 2.

Ryght as an ey (egg) amydde habeth a yolke
For as a yolk is euene a mydwaʒde
Of the ſchelle of aney, whan it is harde;
Ryght ſo is Helle pit, as clerkes telles
A myde the erthe and no where elles.

Inquiry into the Origin of the Diſcov. attribut. to the moderns, pag. 148, cap. 9.

From the peruſal of the foregoing paſſages, as well as from the works of almoſt all the chriſtian philoſophers, we ſee that the ſyſtem which goes under the name of the Copernican, (from Copernicus, the ſuppoſed inventor) was not adopted by them; by which we may be led to conclude, that the long eſtabliſhed doctrine of all the ancient philoſophers was, that the earth was in the middle of all things. But the Rev. Mr. Dutens, in his learned Enquiry into the Origin of the Diſcoveries attributed to the Moderns, has evidently proved, that

* The idea of a Chriſtaline Heaven above the firmament, is taken from the ſeventh verſe of the firſt chapter of Geneſis: And God made the firmament, and divided the waters that were under the firmament, from the waters which were above the firmament: that is (ſay the old Chriſtian philoſophers) of the waters that were above the firmament, the which were frozen like chriſtal, he made the Chriſtaline Heaven, and placed therein the fixed ſtars: the other waters were placed in the watery ſphere, that ſurrounds the earth under the firmament; and thus were the waters divided. Nuremberg Chronicle, fol. 4.

that this ſyſtem is very far from being a new eſtabliſhed opinion. His words are theſe: "That the earth moves about the ſun, and that there are antipodes, are particulars known long ago, though received almoſt every where at firſt with contempt or ridicule; nay, they have ſometimes proved dangerous to thoſe who held them; yet both theſe doctrines are now ſo well eſtabliſhed, that they meet with general approbation. And thus for two ages paſt have we gone on to reintroduce the moſt celebrated of the ancient opinions; ſtill affecting, however, not to know that we are in any manner indebted to thoſe who firſt held them.

The moſt reaſonable in itſelf, and what agrees beſt with the moſt accurate obſervations, is that ſyſtem of the world propoſed by Copernicus, who places the ſun in the center, the fixed ſtars at the circumference, and the earth and other planets in the intervening ſpace; and who aſcribes to the earth not only a diurnal motion round its axis, but an annual round the ſun. This ſyſtem is entirely ſimple, and beſt of any explains all the appearances of the planets, and their ſituations, whether proceſſional, ſtationary, or retrograde; but it is a matter of ſurpriſe, how a ſyſtem ſo fully and diſtinctly inculcated by the antients, ſhould derive its name from a modern philoſopher. Pythagoras, Philolaüs, Nicetas of Syracuſe, Plato, and Ariſtarchus, have in a thouſand places expreſſed this opinion; and Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, and Stobæus, have with great preciſion tranſmitted to us their ideas." This argument he ſupports with ſeveral juſt and learned quotations from the above-named authors, among which none ſeem to ſtrike me with more force than the following: "Archimedes, (ſays he) in his book *de Arenario*, informs us, *That Ariſtarchus, writing on this ſubject againſt ſome of the philoſophers of his own age, placed the ſun immoveable in the center of an orbit, deſcribed by the earth in its circuit.*" And he after adds, "That the earth is round, and inhabited on all ſides, and of courſe that there are antipodes, or thoſe whoſe feet are directly oppoſite to ours, is one of the moſt ancient doctrines inculcated by philoſophy." * Then he with the greateſt juſtice makes the following remark: "And that theſe opinions were no ſooner univerſally received, ought entirely to be aſcribed to the force of prejudice, which, deciding every thing by appearances, prefers ſenſe to reaſon, and abandons whatever is not conformable to the judgment of the former."

Ibid. p. 152.

Ibid. p. 155.

CONCLUSION.

Thus have I at laſt, with great pains and diligence, brought this laborious work to an end, and ſubmit it to the candour and lenity of the readers, hoping that the toilſome difficulty that muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch an extenſive work, may in ſome meaſure excuſe the errors and imperfections that may be found therein.

And

* In the Nurembergh Chronicle are pictured figures of the ſeveral monſtrous people inhabiting the world, according to the various accounts of ancient authors; among the reſt are thoſe of the antipodes, "who live (ſays the Chronicle) in a country where the ſun riſes when it ſits with us. Theſe people have their feet ſet the contrary way to ours; their heels before, and their toes turned behind them. This, however, was not antiently credited at Rome, as witneſſeth Auguſtine in his Lib. de Civit. dei, Lib. 16, cap. 9."—Hartman's Chronicle, printed at Nurembergh, fol. 12.

And if the reader has but met with pleaſure and ſatisfaction enough to think his time has not been ill beſtowed which he has ſpent in the peruſal, I ſhall be perfectly happy in my labours. My love for my national antiquities is greater than I can expreſs. I have with patience, nay with pleaſure, turned over the many various volumes from whence the chief materials of this work are collected, and endeavoured faithfully to preſerve thoſe things which ſome years hence might elſe be loſt and buried in oblivion. It is the moſt natural love which every man either does or ought to bear to his country, and 'tis his duty to preſerve its glory; for the pictures of our anceſtors are ſo truly noble, that we may with pleaſure peruſe the records, and look back upon the antient times with ſatisfaction, for it is not our leaſt honour to be ſo nobly deſcended.

Thus have I chaulked out the path; perhaps hereafter, when I am laid in the ſilent grave, ſome pen more able than my own may quite compleat this my imperfect tracing.

Account

Account of the principal MSS. from which the Materials of this Second Volume are collected.

THE firſt is a MS. Pſalter in the poſſeſſion of John Ives, Eſq; of Great Yarmouth, which is richly illuminated and adorned with figures. This he kindly communicated to me. The date of this MS. both by the writing and ſtile of the figures, appears to be about the reign of Edward the Third.

The next is in the Harlean Library, a MS. written in the latter part of Richard the Second's reign, (being the hiſtorical account of his troubles) by Francis de la Marque, a French gentleman, who was an eye-witneſs of moſt of the facts therein related. See a further account of this MS. in the Regal and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities. This MS. is marked 1319.

The large miſſal, called the Liber Regalis, is ſaid to have been made for the direction of the clergy that aſſiſted at the coronation of king Richard the Second. This valuable MS. is yet preſerved in the Abbey; and I had the permiſſion to copy it from the Biſhop of Rocheſter, by means of Mr. Brooker, keeper of the Record-Office, who alſo kindly aſſiſted me in ſeveral other matters. See a fuller account of this MS. in the Reg. and Eccleſ. Ant.

The next is a Pſalter in the Harl. Library, written in the reign of Henry the Fourth; and in the calendar are figures prefixed to every month, with the ſign of the zodiac appropriated to each particular month underneath it. This MS. is marked 2331.

Another very curious MS. I found in the Harl. Library, which contains the life of St. Edmund, king of the Eaſt Angles, as tranſlated from the Latin by John Lidgate, monk of Bury, on purpoſe to preſent to the young king Henry the Sixth, while he held his Chriſtmas at Bury. This curious and valuable MS. is enriched with a vaſt variety of excellent illuminations. See a fuller account in the Catalogue of the Harl. MSS. and in the Reg. and Eccleſ. Antiq. This MS. is marked 2278.

In the Cotton Library is preſerved a valuable MS. Poem, called the Pilgrim, in old Engliſh, and adorned with pictures. This, by the writing and ſtile, appears to have been made during the reign of Edward the Fourth. It is marked Tiberius, A. VII.

And the next is alſo in the Cotton Library, a very curious and valuable MS. which, among various other things, contains the Hiſtory of the Life and Acts of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, (as given in the deſcription of the plates) illuſtrated with 53 excellent delineations, which fully explain the manners and cuſtoms of the times in which they were done. Theſe compoſe the far greater part of the plates given in this volume: and the original delineations, together with the writing, are all done by the hand of John Rouſe, the Warwickſhire Antiquary and Hiſtorian. Vid. Catal. Cottonianæ. John Rouſe died the 14th of January, 1491, the ſeventh year of Henry the Seventh. This MS. is marked Julius, E IV.

With various other MS. that are not here mentioned.

Deſcription of the PLATES.

PL. I. No. 1, the door way to St. Botolph's priory at Colcheſter, ſee p. 4; 2, an arched door way of the Saxons, p. 4; 3, the door way to Great Canfield church in the county of Eſſex; 4, 5, 6 and 7 are the capitals of Saxon columns from the church of St. Peter at Oxford; 8, is the capital of a Saxon column, vid. p. 4; 10. the quinten, p. 21; 12, a pillory, p. 9; 13, an umbrella, p. 18; 9, 11, 14, 15, 16 and 17, muſical inſtruments, p. 20; No. 2 and No. 8, are from the Cædman MS. at Oxford, mentioned in the firſt vol. p. 105; 4, 5, 6 and 7 are from Hearne's Antiquities; 10, is from Stow's Survey of London; 9, is from Nero D. 1; 12, is from the tranſcript of Mat. Paris, at Cambridge, and all the other muſical inſtruments, as well as 13, are from the pſalter of Eadwine, in Trinity College Library, marked R. 17, 1; ſee the account of the laſt three MSS. p. 106, vol. 1.

PL. II. No. 1, the gaveloc; 2, the giſarma; 3, the bipennis, vid. p. 98 of vol. 1; 4, 21 and 22, the globes; 5, 6 and 7, ſcepters; 8, a battle ax; 9, a ſpear; 10, a tilting ſpear, vid. p. 98 of vol. 1; from 11 to 20 are crowns; 23 and 24 are ſhields; 25, a dagger; 26, an arrow, headed with a phial; 27, a war ax; 28, a ſword; 29, a banner; 30, a pennon; 31, a battle ax; 32, the arrows, headed with fiery combuſtibles, ſee p. 98 of vol. 1; 33, a chair; 34, a huntſman's horn; 35, a royal ſeat; 36, a church candleſtick, as is alſo 46; 37, 38, 41, 42 and 44, are different Norman veſſels; 39, an ink horn and pen; 40, a penknife; 43, a lamp, and 45, a key. No. 1, 3, 7, 16, 18, 20, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42 and 43, are from the pſalter of Eadwine, Trin. col. vid. vol. 1, p. 105. No. 2 is from 1585, MS. in the Harl. Lib. 11 and 6 are from the great ſeal of the Conqueror; 5 is from one of his coins; 12 is from the great ſeal of Rufus; 13, from a coin of Stephen; 14, from Henry the Firſt's great ſeal; 15, from the great ſeal of Maud the Empreſs; 17 and 21 are from the great ſeal of Richard the Firſt, as is alſo fig. 19; fig. 22, from the great ſeal of Henry the Third; 4, 8, 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 44, 45 and 46, are from Nero D. 1; 26, 27 and 32, are from the Mat Paris, at Cambridge; for theſe two laſt MS. ſee p. 106, vol. 1; 35, is from xiv, c. 2, and 39 and 40, from 10A13, both MSS. in the Royal Library.

PL. III. The firſt 12 figures are the 12 months, beginning with January, having the ſign of the Zodiac proper for each month, delineated under it; 13, is a capariſoned horſe; 14, a lady on horſeback; 15, archers; 16, a gentleman hawking; the months are from 2[illegible]nd the laſt 4 from 2278, both MSS. in the Harl. Lib. ſee the account of the MS. in this volume.

PL. IV. Seven and 8 are men of arms in Richard the Second's time; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 and 12, are ſoldiers during the reign of Henry the Sixth, ſee p. 33; 13, the proclaiming of a king, ſee note p. 59; 15 and 17, veſſels, during the reign of Richard the Second; 14, the ſailing ſhip, Temp. Henry the Sixth, ſee p. 73 & 74; 16, a boat, ſee p. 77; 18, a workman drawing up a bucket; 19, a plaiſterer at work;

work; 20, a maſon at work, ſee p. 46; 21 and 22, tents, ſee p. 44; 7, 8, 15 17 and 22, are from 1319, all the reſt are from 2278, ſee account of the MSS, in this volume.

One, a battle ax; 2 and 3, axes, as borne by the generals; 4, 5 and 6, are bills; 8 and 9, glaives; 7, a ſpear; 10, the tilting lance, thoſe uſed in the tournaments, differed only in the points being blunted; 11 and 12 are ſpears, uſed by the footmen; 21, the ſhields borne by the footmen; 19 and 20, paviſes, uſed by the paviſers; 22 and 23, ſhields uſed by the archers; 13, 14, 15 and 16 are ſwords; 17 and 18 daggers; 24 and 25, ſtrange ſhields; the two laſt mentioned. with 19, 20 and 21, are from Montfaucon's Monarchie Francois, ſee p. 34 of this vol. and the note ‡ of the ſame page, all the reſt are from the MSS. before mentioned. PL. V.

No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 are kings crowns; 8 and 16 are queens crowns; 9, is the princes coronet; 10, 11, 12 and 14 are ducal coronets; 13 and 15, earls, ſee p. 65; 19, is the poſture maſter ſhewing poſtures, ſtanding upon the ſhoulders of a man playing the bagpipes; 18, the balance maſter, balancing a ſpear on his noſe, ſee p. 97; 19, a king lying in ſtate; 20 and 21, a man firing cannons; I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X, are head dreſſes; and from XI to XXVII incluſive, muſical inſtruments, ſee p. 99; 1, is the crown of Edward the Firſt, from his great ſeal; 2, of Edward the Second, from a coin; 3, Edward the Third, from his great ſeal; 4, of Henry the Sixth, from his coin; 16, of his queen, from pl. 43 of the Regal and Eccleſ. Antiquities; 7, of Edward the Fourth; 8, of his queen, from pl. 47 of the Regal and Eccleſ. Antiquities; 5, from the great ſeal of Richard the Third; 6, from the great ſeal of Henry the Seventh; 9, from pl. 48 of the Regal and Eccleſ. Antiquities; 10, is from the 16th plate of the ſame book; 15, from the 19th plate of the ſame; 11, from the 42d plate, and 12, from the 43d plate of the ſame; 13 and 14 are from Julius E. IV. 17 and 19, from the MS. in the poſſeſſion of John Ives, eſq; fig. 19, from the Liber Regalis; 20 and 21, from Mountfaucon; 22 and 23, from 1766 MS. in the Harl. Lib. No. I to VIII are from 2278; IX and X are from the Nuremburg Chronicle; XXIV, XXV, XXVI and XXVII, from Tiberius, A. 7, MS. in the Cotton Library, and all the reſt from the Liber Regalis. PL. VI.

The Life of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, by John Rous: Ex MS. apud Bib. Cott. inſig. Julius E. IV.

"This pagent ſheweth the birth of the famous knyght, Richard Beauchamp erle of Warrewik, which was born in the maner of Salwarp in the counte of Worceſtre, the 28th day of the moneth of January, the yere of the incarnation of our Lord Criſte 1381; whoſe notable actes of chevalry and knyghtly demennaunce been alſo ſhewed in the pagentis hereafter enſuyng. PL. VII.

Here is ſhewed howe he was baptiſed, havyng to his godfaders Kyng Richard the Second, and Seynt Richard Scrope, then Biſhop of Lichefeld, and after in proceſſe of tyme he was archebisſhop of Yorke. PL. VIII.

Here ſheweth how this noble lorde Richard Beauchamp, erle of Warrewik, was made knyght; to the whiche ordre in proceſſe of tyme, as ſhall appere followyng by his noble atchievements, he did great honour and worſhip. PL. IX.

PL. X. Here ſhewes howe dame Jane duches of Breteyn, doughter of the kyng of Navern and newe wedded wife to Henry the Fourth, kyng of England, was crowned quene of this noble reame of England.

PL. XI. Here ſhewes how atte coronacion of quene Jane, earl Richarde kepte juſte for the quene's part ageynſt all other commers, where he ſo notably and ſo knyghtly behaved hymſelf, as redounded to his noble fame and perpetuall worſhip.

PL. XII. Here ſhewes howe at theis daies appeared a blaſyng ſterre called *Stella Comata*, which after the ſeiyng of Clerkys, ſignyfied great deth and blodeſhede; and ſone upon beganne the warre of Wales, by Owen of Glendour their chief capteyn; whom emonges other erle Richard ſo ſore ſewed, that he hadde nere hande taken hym, and put hym to flyght, and toke his baner, and moche of his people, and his banerer.

PL. XIII. Here ſhewes how at the battell of Shreweſbury, between kyng Henry the Fourth and Sir Henry Percy; erle Richard there beyng on the kynges party ful, notably and manly behaved hymſelf to his great larde *(Laud)* and worſhip, in which batell was ſlayne the ſaid Sir Henry Percy, and many others with hym; and on the kynges party there was ſlayne in the kynges cote armoure, chef of al other the erle of Stafford, erle Richard's auntes ſon, wyth many other in greet nombre, on whoes ſowles God have mercy amen.

PL. XIV. In this pagent is ſhewed, howe the noble erle Richard was made knyght of the Garter at that tyme to his greet worſhip; and after by marvallous acts by hym ful notably and knyghtly acheved in his propre perſone, did greet honour and worſhip to the noble ordre of knyghtes of the Garter, as by the pageants hereafter followyng more pleynly is ſhewed.

PL. XV. Here ſhewes how good proviſion made of Engliſh clothe, and other thynges neceſſary, and licence had of the kynge; erle Richard ſailed towards the Holy Lond, and ſpecially to the holy city of Jeruſalem, where our Lorde Jheſus Criſte wilfully ſuffered his bitter paſſion, for the redemption of all mankynde.

PL. XVI. Here ſhewes howe erle Richard, when he was paſſed the ſee, he turned to his noble and nere coſyn the duc of Barre, of whom he was ful lovyngly and worſhipfully reſceived, and there tarried eight daies in greet pleaſir.

PL. XVII. And here is ſhewed howe at this noble duke's deſire, erle Richard hys couſyn rode with hym agaynſt the Whitſontide to the cite of Parys, the kyng of Fraunce there then beyng preſent in great roialte.

PL. XVIII. Here ſhewes howe on the Whitſonday, the kyng of Fraunce in reverence of the holy feeſt was crowned, and made erle Richard to ſitte at his table: where he ſo manerly behaved hymſelf in langage, and norture,* that the kyng and lordes, with all other people, gave hym greet lawde, and at hys departyng the kyng aſſigned hym an heraude to geve his attendaunce, and conduct hym ſaufly thorowe all hys Raume.

PL. XIX. Here ſhewes howe at hys departyng from Fraunce into Lumbardy, the Frenche herawde richely rewarded and licenced; in ſhorte ſpace after came another herawde to erle Richard, ſent from Sir Pandolf Malatete, or Malet, with letres of challenge to do certeyn poyntes of armes with hym at Verona, at a certeyn

* This word ſignifies breeding and education.

a certeyn day assigned for the ordre of the garter; to whych challenge to be doon before Sir Calcot of Mantua, Erle Richard gladly agreed, and after he hadde doon hys pilgremage at Rome he returned to Verona, where he and his chalenger Sir Pandolf shuld first just, then go togeder with axes, after which armyng swerdes, and last with sharpe daggers.

Howe atte place and day assigned, resortyng thidre all the contre, Sir Pandolf entred the place ix speres born before hym, then thacte of speres to the erle Richard worshipfully finished, after went they to gedres with axes, and if the lord Calcot hadde not the sonner cried peas, Sir Pandolf sore wounded on the lift shuldre hadde been utterly slayne in the felde. PL. XX.

How erle Richard came to Venise, and was inned at Seynt George, and was right worshepfully receved of the duc and lordes of Venise, and many rial presents hadde he there geven hym; and moche the rather for the great lawde they herde was geven hym at Verona. PL. XXI.

Here shewes howe erle Richard was worthely resceved by the Patriarkes depute at Jerusalem, and licenced to commune in due fourme with the hethen people, and specially with the greet estate if the cause required; and how with them he shulde be demeaned. PL. XXII.

Here shewes how he offered in Jerusalem at our Lordes sepulcre, and his armes were set up on the north side of the temple, and there they remayned many yeres after, as pilgrymes that longe after come thens reported. PL. XXIII.

Here shewes howe Sir Balderdain, a noble lorde the Sóldans lieutenant, that tyme beyng at Jerusalem; heryng that erle Richard was there, and that he was lynyally of blede descended of noble Guy of Warrewyk, and with greet honoure receved hym, and desired hym and his mayny (train) to dyne with hym in his owne place; and erle Richard ful manerly behavyng hym, granted lorde Balderdain to come for his pleaser. PL. XXIV.

Here shewes howe Sir Balderdain at that dyner in his owne place set first the erle Richardes chapelleyn, in the chief place, and next hym erle Richard, he hymself beyng as marchall; and after dyner rewarded hys men with silkes, and clothes of gold, and to erle Richard he gave three pretious stones of greet value; and in secrete wise tolde hym, that in his hert, thowe he durst not utter his concept, yet he faithfully beleved as we do; reherSyng by ordre the articles of our feith. PL. XXV.

Here shewes howe on the morn erle Richard feasted Sir Balderdains men, and gave them largely of English clothe to array them in his liverie, after their degrees, bothe scarlet and othe clothe of colour; this doon and by a spye shewed to Sir Balderdaine, he came to erle Richard and seid he wolde be of his liverey, and marchal of his hall. This Balderdain was cunnyng in many langages. Erle Richard gave hym then a gowne of blakke puke furred, and after dyner they hadde greet communycacion to gedre. PL. XXVI.

Howe erle Richard came ageyn to Venus, and there was worthily resceived of the duke and other lordes, both spirituel and temporal; and all the cites gave lovyng to God that he hadde so wele, and prosperously spedde in his journey to the holy land. P. XXVII.

Here shewes howe erle Richard from Venise toke his wey to Russy, Lettowe, and Velyn, and Cyprase, Westvale, and other coostes of Almayn toward Englond, by such coostes as his aunceSters had laboured in; and specially erle Thomas, P. XXVIII.

mas his grauntfader, that in warre hadde taken the kynges ſone of Pettowe, and brought hym into England, and chriſtened hym at London, namyng hym after hymſelf Thomas, and in this journey erle Richard gate hym greet worſhip at many turnamentes, and other faites of werre.

PL. XXIX. Here ſheweth howe after the cummyng home of erle Richard from the Holy Lande, Henry the Fifth when beyng kyng of England, was ſecretely enformmed of a prevey and ſodeyn inſurreccion of traiterous heritikes, which ſodenly by myght purpoſed to have taken the kyng, and kept hym undre their rule and ſubjeccion, and after by his auctorite to have deſtroied the church of England, and to ſlee the prelates and diſtribute their poſſeſſions ageynſt the houſe of God, after their indiſcrete adviſes and pleaſures.

PL. XXX. Here ſheweth howe this victorious and noble prynce kyng Henry the Fifth oponed this matier to the lordes of his counſeil, erle Richard being preſent, which for the accomplyſhment of the kyng's entent and pleaſir therin, dreſſed hymſelf into his harneys, and ful coragiouſly with good circumſpeccion and forſight, avaunced hymſelf to the ſubdewyng of the ſaid traytours and heretikes.

PL. XXXI. Howe erle Richard after he hadde ſcowred the ſee, was made capteyn of Caleys; where he ful notably guided al things undre his governaunce, and when he hadde ſeen al his londes and ſet al thing in dewe ordre, he hede to Caleys, where he was reverently received with proceſſcion, &c.

P. XXXII. Howe erle Richard after he hadde ſeen his londes, and ſette al thyng in dewe ordre, heryng of a greet gaderyng in Fraunce, inaſmoche as he was capteyn of Caleys he hied hym thidre haſtely, and was there worthely received; and when that he herd that the gaderyng in Fraunce was appoynted to come to Caleys, he caſt in his mynde to do ſume newe poynt of chevalry; wheruppon he lete paynt 3 paviſes, and in every pavire a lady, the firſt harpyng atte ende of a bedſtede, with a greet of gold on her lefte ſleve, and her knyght called the grene knyght, with a blakke quarter; and he ſhulde be redy to juſt with eny knyght of Fraunce xii courſes, and 2 ſhildes ſhould be of purvinnes; and that knyghtes lettre was ſealed with

P. XXXIII the ſeale of his armes; the felde ſylver, a maunche gules. The ſecond pavys hadde a lady ſittyng at a covered borde, worchyng perles; and on her ſleve was tacked a glove of plate, and her knyght was called Chevaler Vert, and his lettre was ſealed with the armes; the felde ſylver, and 2 barres of gewles, and he muſt juſt xv courſes, and that ſhulde be 2 ſadilles of cheyes. The third pavys a lady ſittyng in a gardeyn makyng a chapellet, and on her ſleve a poleyn with a rivet, her knyght was called Chevaler Attendant, and he and his felowe muſt renne x cours, with ſcharpe ſperes and without ſheldys, his lettre was ſealed with golde and gewles quarte a bordour of vert; their lettres were ſent to the kyng's coorte of Fraunce, and anone other 3 Frenche knyghtes received them, and graunted their felowes to mete at day and place aſſigned.

Here ſhewes howe as it is ſaid afore theſe lettres were received, to the firſt applied hymſelf a noble knyght, called Sir Gerard Herbawines, that called hymſelf the Chevaler Ruge; to the ſecond anſwered a famous knyght Sir Hugh

P. XXXIV. Laundy, callyng hymſelf the Chevaler Blanke; and to the thyrde agreed an excellent knyght called Sir Colard Fymes, at a certeyn day and place aſſigned, that is to ſey the xii day of Chriſtmaſſe, in a lawnde called the Park Hedge of Gynes.

Here

Here ſhewes how erle Richard on the firſt day that was the xii day of Chriſtmaſſe, comyng to the felde, his face covered, a bûſsh of Eſtrich fethers on his hede, his horſe trapped with the armes of oone of his aunceſtres the lorde Tony, and at the third courſe he caſt to the grounde at his ſpere poynt behynde the horſe taile, rhe knyght called the Chevaler Ruge; and then the erle with clooſe viſar retourned unknowed to his pavilyon. And forthwith he ſent to the ſaid knyght a fair courſer. P. XXXV.

Howe erle Richard the Second day came into the felde, that is ſey the morowe after the xii day, his viſar cloos, a chaplet on his baſnet, and a tufte of eſtrich fethers aloſte, his hors trapped with his armes of Haunſlape ſilwer, two barrys of gewles, and their mette with hym the blank knyghte, and they ran togider; and the erle ſmote up his viſar thries, and brake his beſagnes and other harneys, all his apparaile ſaved; and ſo with the victory, and hymſelf unknown rode to his pavilion ageyn, and ſent to this blank knyght Sir Hugh Lawney, a good courſer. P. XXXVI.

Howe on the morowe next folowyng, that was the laſt day of the juſtes, the erle Richard came in face opyn, his baſnet as the day afore, ſave the chapellet was rich of perle and precious ſtones, in Guy his armes and Beauchampe quarterly, and the armes alſo of Tony and Haunſlape in his trappure, and ſaid like as he hadde his owne perſone performed the two dayes afore, ſo with Goddes grace he wolde the third, then ran he to the Chevaler name Sir Colard Fymes, and every ſtroke he bare hym bakwards to his hors bakke; and then the Frenchmen ſaid he was bounde to the ſadyll, wherfor he alighted down from his horſe, and forthwith ſtept up into his ſadyll ageyn, and ſo with worſhipe rode to his pavilion, and ſent to Sir Colard a good courſer, and feſted all the people; gevyng the ſaid three knyghtes gret rewardes, and rode to Calys with great worſhipe. PL. XXXVII.

Here ſhewes howe king Henry the Fifth made erle Richard, and Robert Halain biſhop of Saliſbury, with other worſhipful perſones, his ambaſſiatours to the general counſeil of Conſtance. PL. XXXVIII.

Howe the pope and the clergy, the emperour Sygiſmonde, and the temporalte, honourably and honeſtly did receive them. P. XXXIX.

Here ſhewes howe a mighty duke chalenged erle Richard for his lady ſake, and he juſtyng ſlewe the duke: then the empreſſe toke the erles livery a bere, from a knyghtes ſhuldre, and for grete love and favour ſhe ſette hit on her ſhuldre; then erle Richard made oone of perle and precious ſtones, and offered her that, and ſhe gladly and lovyngly received hit. PL. XL.

Howe the emperour for a ſpecial love made erle Richard to bere his ſwerde, and profored to geve hym Seynte George his Hert, Engliſshmennes avowry, to bryng into Englond; but erle Richard heryng the emperour ſey that he in his owne perſone would come into Englond: he by endenture reſtored hit to hym ageyne, ſaiyng the delyveryng of hit by his owne perſone ſhulde be more acceptable, and nouriſshyng of more love, and ſo he did; for in ſhorte ſpace after he come into Englond, and was made knyghte of the garter, and offered up the holy Hert hymſelf, which is worſhipfully yet kept at Wyndeſore; and in his comyng and goyng at Caleys, erle Richard then beyng capteyn, he honourably reſceived hym, and the emperour ſaide to the kyng that no prince Criſten for wiſdom, norture, and manhode, hadde ſuch another knyght as he had of therle PL. XLI.

War-

Warrewyk; addyng therto that if al curteſye were loſt, yet myght hit be founde ageyn in hym; and ſo ever after by the emperour's auctorite he was called the Fadre of Curteiſy.

PL. XLII. Howe erle Richard in his comyng into Englond, wanne 2 greete carykkes in the ſea.

PL. XLIII. Howe erle Richard in the warres of Fraunce, toke Denfront, and entred firſt into Cane; but inaſmoche as he was there with and under lorde Thomas duke of Clarance, the kyng's next brother, he ſette on the walle the kyng's armys, and the duke's, and made a crye a Clarence, a Clarence: and then entred the duke, and gave the erle many greet thankes. After the erle beſeged Cawbek on the water of Sayn, and they appoynted to ſtande undre the Fourme of Reone; and then brought he up veſſels by water to Reone, and than by his policy was it beſeged both by londe and by water. After he wanne Mount Seynt Michell and many townes, and the kyng made him erle of Aumarle.

PL. XLIV. Howe erle Richard was atte the ſege of Reon, there ſet firſt betwen the kyngs tent and Seynt Katheryns, and when Seynt Katheryns was wonne, he was ſette to kepe Port Quartevyle.

PL. XLV. Here ſhewes howe kyng Henry from Reon ſent erle Richard to the kyng of Fraunce, and the erle of Kyme with hym in the begynnyng of May, with a 1000 men of armes, for the mariage of dame Katheryne, daughter of ſaid kyng of France.

PL. XLVI. Howe the dolphyn of Fraunce leide in the way 6000 men of armes, with the erles of Vandon and Lymoſyn; and bothe the Frenſh erles were ſlayn, and 2000 of his men taken and ſlayn; all the other put to flight; and erle Richard ſlewe oon the ſaid erles with his owne handes.

P. XLVII. Howe erle Richard his enemyes overcome, did his meſſage to the kyng of Fraunce, and brought anſwers ageyn to kyng Harries greet pleaſir.

P. XLVIII. Howe the noble erle Richard brought anſwere to kyng Henry of his meſſage, deon to the kyng of Fraunce, for the mariage of dame Katheryn his daughter.

P. XLIX. Here ſhewes howe kyng Henry the Vth was ſolempnely maried to dame Katheryn the kyngs daughter of Fraunce.

PL. L. Howe kyng Hen. VIth was born at Wyndſore, on Seynt Nicholas day: the yere of our Lorde 1420.

PL. LI. Here ſhewes howe accordyng to the laſt wille of kyng Henrie the Vth. erle Richard by the auctorite of the hole parlieament, was maiſter to kyng Henrie the VIth. and ſo he contynowed til the yong kyng was 16 yere of age, and then firſt by his greete labour he was diſcharged.

PL. LII. Here ſhewes howe kyng Henry the VIth. beyng in his tender age, was crowned kyng of Englond at Weſtminſtre with great ſolempnytie.

PL. LIII. Here ſhewes howe kyng Henry was after crowned kyng of Fraunce, at Seynt Denys beſides Parys. Of whiche coronacion in Fraunce, and alſo the ſaid erle to have the rule of hys noble perſone until he were of the age of 16 yeres, it was the wille and ordinaunce of Almyghty God; as our bleſſed lady ſhewed by revelation, unto dame Emme Rawhtone recluſe at Alle Halowes, in Northgate ſtreete of York; and ſhe ſaide that thorowe the rame of Englond was no perſone, lord ne other like to hym, in habilitie of grace, and true feithfulneſſe; to vertuouſly nouriſshe and governe his noble perſone, accordyng to his rial aſtate,

Alſo

Alſo ſhe put greet commend cion by the ordinaunce of God of his greete benefytes in tyme to come of devowt commers to the place of Gye Clif, etherwiſe called Gibclyff; which in proceſſe of tyme ſhal growe to a place of great warſhippe, oon of the mooſte named in Englond.

Here ſhewes how Philip Duc of Burgoyn, beſeged Caleys, and Humfrey duc of Glouceſtre, Richard erle of Warrewyk, and Humfrey erle of Stafford, with a greet multitude, went over the ſee, and folowed the duc of Burgoyn; he ever fleyng before them; and they there ſore noied the countrey with fire and ſwerde. PL. LIV.

Here ſhewes howe kyng Henry the VIth. made erle Richard lieutennant of Fraunce and Normandy. PL. LV.

Here ſhewes howe erle Richard, when he with his navy toke the ſalt water, in ſhort ſpace aroſe a grevous tempeſt, and drefe the ſhippes into Dinſle cooſte, in ſo moche that they al fered to be periſshed; and the noble erle fore caſtynge lete bynde hymſelf and his lady and Henri his ſone and heir (after duc of Warrewyk) to the maſt of the veſſel; to thentent that where ever they were founde, they myght have been buried to gedres worſhipfully, by the knowlege of his cote armour, and other ſignes uppon hym, but yet God preſerved them al and ſo retourned to Englond, and after to Normandy. PL. LVI.

Here ſhewes howe he eſte from Englond, come quietly into Normandy, and there as a lorde rial the kyngs lieutennant and góverner (which ſonnes *regent* in the French tongue) ſo nobly and diſcretely behavedde hymſelf, that bothe Engliſh and Frenſhe were gladde of hym, playnly percevyng by his gwidyng that God was with hym. PL. LVII.

Here ſhewes howe by the hande of God, he fil ſeke in the nóble cite of Reon, and as a criſtyn knyght departed from this worlde; (all the ſacrementes of the church devoutly of hym before received) the laſt day of May the yere of our Lorde 1439. the yere of his age 58. PL. LVIII.

Here ſhewes howe the ſame yere of his deceſſe, the 4th day of October next folowing, his cors was honourably conveid, as well by water as by londe, from Reon unto Warrewik; and there worſhiply buried, in the college of our lady churche, founded by his noble aunceſtors; the biſshop of Lichfeld beyng executor officy, and many lordes ladyes and other worſhipful people there beyng preſent." PL. LIX.

"This plate is engraved from a picture in the poſſeſſion of William Bray, Eſq; which was copied (in 1774) from a painting on glaſs in a window of the Priory Church of Great Malvern in Worceſterſhire. Thomas, in his Antiquities of that place, gives the following account of that window. After ſpeaking of ſome parts being damaged, he ſays, "Ejuſdem fortunæ participant ſex inferiores Panel-
"læ, quæ non multis ab hinc annis a turbinoſo vento e locis suis ejectæ et plu-
"rimum fractæ, neglecto priſtino ordine, reponebantur. Sed tempore Thom.
"Abingdoni, Arm. in illis depicti fuere Henricus VII armatus, coronâ imperiali
"cinctus, et ſuper exteriorem veſtem quadrupartitim inſignia Franciæ et Angliæ;
"a tergo Elizabetha regina ejus et ſuper mantella eadem arma: poſt illam
"Arthurus princeps Walliæ ſimul armatus, et ſagum ejus iiſdem inſignibus de-
"coratum, addito lemniſco triplici argenteo: *Huic ſucceſſit Reginaldus Bray*
"*miles, in proſperis et adverſis Regi ſuo ſemper fidelis*, geſtans in clypeo candido
"ſignum inter tria nigra aquilarum vi diſtracta crura. Huncque ſecutus eſt
"Johannes PL. LX.

" Johannes Savage, Arm. pallum fuſillatum nigrum in parmâ argenteâ gerens,
" et poſtremo omnium Thomas Lovell, Arm. unus ex conſiliariis ejuſdem regis;
" cum ſcuto gentilitio candido, ſigno inter tres ſciuros miniatos inſignito. Hi
" omnes genibus flexis, palmiſque ad cœlum erectis, pro miſericordiâ ſuppli-
" cant deum, et infra ſcriptum fuit, *Orate pro bono ſtatu nobiliſſimi et excellentiſſi-*
" *mi Regis Henrici Septimi, et Elizabethæ reginæ, ac domini Arthuri principis filii*
" *eorundem necnon prædilectiſſimæ conſortis ſuæ ac ſuorum trium militum.*"

Of theſe ſix the only ones remaining perfect are thoſe of the king and Sir Reginald Bray; both which are here repreſented.

Sir Reginald deſcended from a family which came into England with the Conqueror, and had been long ſeated at Eton Bray in Bedfordſhire. He was the ſecond ſon of Sir Richard Bray, one of the Privy Council to Hen. VI. and which Sir Richard lies buried in Worceſter Cathedral. He was very inſtrumental in the advancement of Hen. VII. to the throne; and that king was ſo ſenſible of his ſervices and abilities, that he beſtowed the higheſt employments and honours on him, and kept him in his ſervice as long as he lived. He was a knight banneret, probably made at the battle of Boſworth; was created knight of the bath at the king's coronation, was joint chief juſtice with lord Fitzwalter, of all the foreſts South of Trent, a privy counſellor, high treaſurer, chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, high ſteward of Oxford, and was choſen knight of the garter. In the 12th year of the king he was at the battle of Blackheath, when lord Audley having joined the Corniſh rebels, was taken priſoner; he being afterwards beheaded, and his eſtate forfeited, his manor of Shire Vachery and Cranley in Surry, was given to Sir Reginald, from whom it deſcended to the Rev. Geo. Bray, the preſent owner of it.

His ſkill in architecture appears from Henry the Seventh's chapel in Weſtminſter Abbey, and the chapel of St. George at Windſor, as he had a principal concern and direction in building the former, and the finiſhing and bringing to perfection the latter, to which he was alſo a liberal benefactor in his life time, and by his will he made proviſion for the completion of it.

He died 5th of Auguſt, 1503, and was buried in a chapel built by him in St. George's chapel at Windſor, ſtill called by his name. He was married, but left no iſſue, and by his will made ample proviſion for his three nephews, ſons of his youngeſt brother John, viz. Edmund, afterwards by Henry VIII. created lord Bray; Edward, anceſtor of the preſent George Bray of Shire and Reginald, anceſtor of the late Brays of Barrington in Glouceſterſhire.

He was poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate acquired by the favor of the king (whoſe kindneſs from him was never withdrawn) and his great employments; but notwithſtanding this, and his being an active miniſter in the reign of a monarch not generally beloved by his ſubjects, hiſtorians agree in giving him an excellent character, calling him, "*The very father of his country, a ſage and grave perſon, a fervent lover of juſtice, and one who would often admoniſh the king when he did any thing contrary to juſtice or equity.*" The words of Polydore Vergil are, "*Elizabetha regina enixa pueliam, quæ paucos vixit dies, moritur. Secutus eſt reginam in cælum redeuntem, Regin. Braius, vere pater patriæ, homo ſeverus, ita recti amator, ut ſi quid interdum peccatum eſſet, illud acriter in Henrico reprehenderet.*"

William

William Bray, Eſq; (who kindly gave me the permiſſion to copy theſe curious pictures) is brother to the above mentioned Rev. Mr. George Bray.

Though it is preſumed that moſt of my readers are well acquainted with the Saxon character, yet, as perhaps this work may fall into the hands of ſome who are not, for their uſe therefore here is ſubjoined the Saxon alphabet.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z
	a	b	c	ꝺ	e	ꝼ	ȝ	h	ı	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	ꝛ	ſ	ꞇ	u	ꝑ	x	ẏ	z
Power	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z
	Ð	ȝ	þ	ƿ	⁊																			

Power Th, th, th, that, and.

The Lord's Prayer in Anglo Saxon, as it was uſed in the eighth century, taken from the venerable Bede.

Ðu uſe ꝼæðeꝛ ðe eaꞇ on heoꝼenum. Sẏ ðin nama ȝehalȝoð. Gecume þin
Thou our Father art in Heaven, by thy name hallowed, Come thy
ꞇice; Sẏ ðin ꝑilla ꝛꝑa ꝛꝑa on heoꝼenum ꝛꝑa eac on heoꝛþan; Sẏle
Kingdom; be thy will done as in Heaven ſo alſo in Earth; give
uꝛ ꞇo ðæȝ uſne ðæȝhþomlican hlaꝼ; And ꝼoꝛȝiꝼ uꝛ uſe ȝẏlꞇaꝛ. ꝛꝑa
us to Day our daily Bread; and forgive us our Guilt, ſo
ꝛꝑa ꝑe ꝼoꝛȝẏꝼaþ ðam ðe ꝑiþ uꝛ aȝẏlꞇaþ; And ne læð ðu na uꝛ
as we forgive them that toward us are guilty; and lead thou not us
on coꝛꞇnunȝe; Ac alẏꝛ uꝛ ꝼꝛam ẏꝑele: Sẏ hiꞇ ꝛꝑa.
into Temptation; But help us from Evil, be it ſo.

And to ſhew the difference between the Anglo Saxon and Anglo Norman tongues, take the following prayer as tranſlated by Pope Gregory (an Engliſhman) and ſent to king Henry the Second for the uſe of his ſubjects.

Ure fader in heuene rich.
Thi name be haliid eueriliche,
Thou bring vs to thi michilbliſce,
Thi will to wirche thu vs wiſſe,
Als hit is in heavene ido,
Ever in earth ben hit alſo,
That holi bred that laſteth ay,
Thou ſend hit ous this ilke day,
Forgiue ous all that we hauith done,
Als we forgivet vch other mon,
He let vs falle in no founding,
Ak ſcilde vs fro the foule thing, Amen.

This together with the creed (alſo in rhime) was at that time uſed in all the churches in England, with univerſal approbation.

FINIS.

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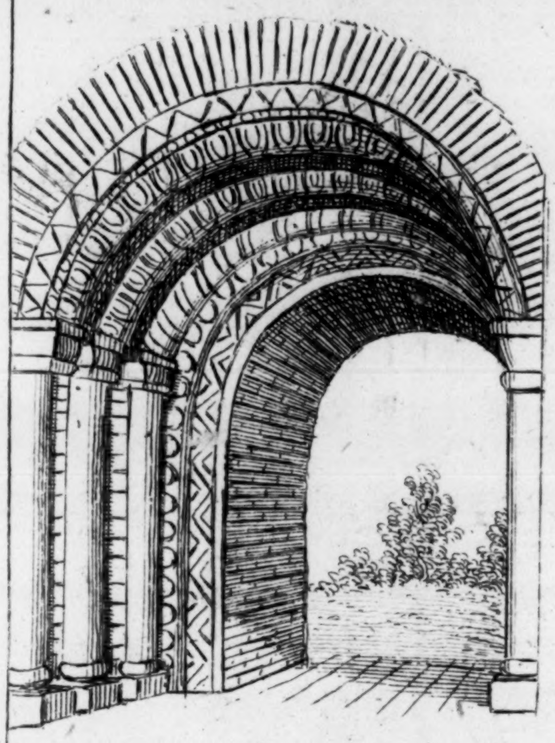
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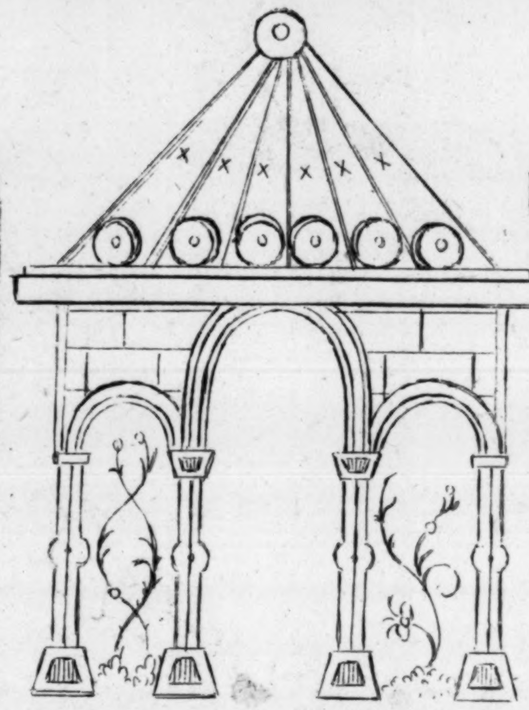
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The preceding Indexes are added to this Work by the kind aſſiſtance of JOHN FENN, Eſq; F. R. S. *East Dereham, Norfolk.*

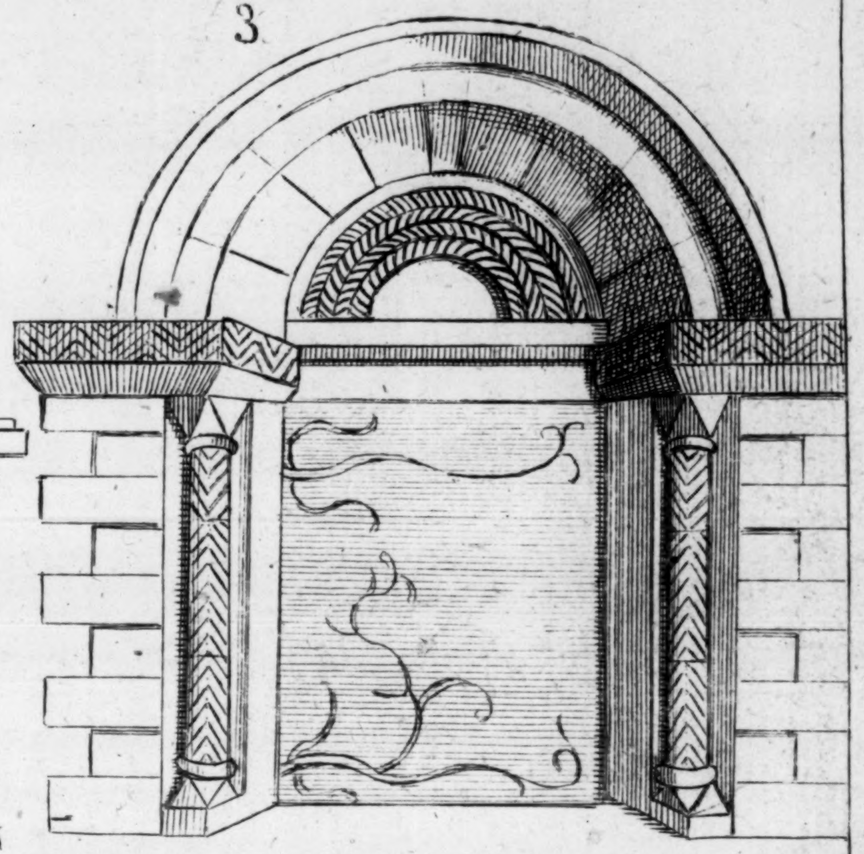
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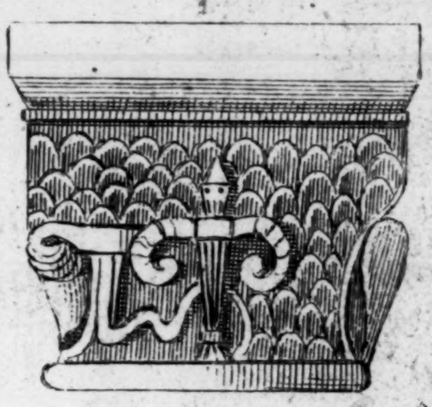
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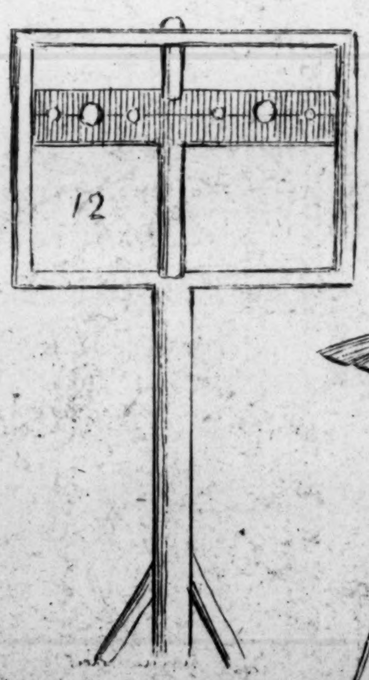
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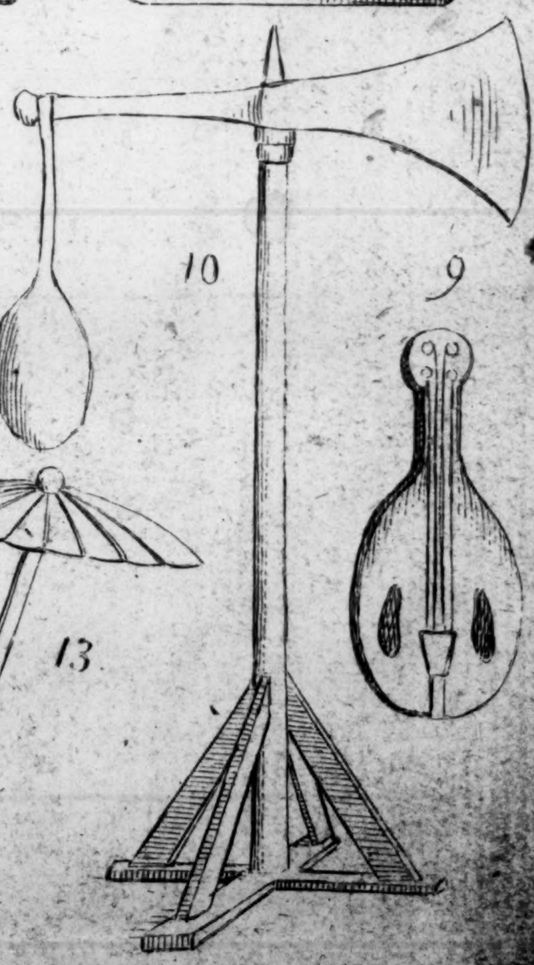


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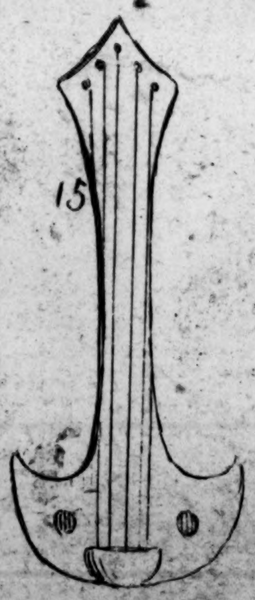
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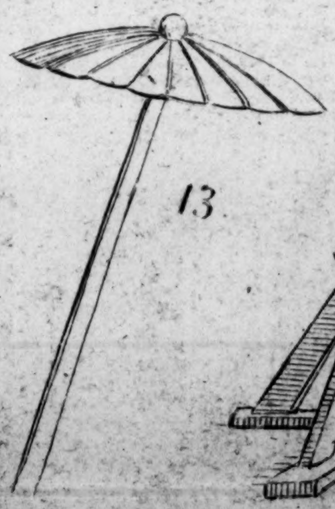
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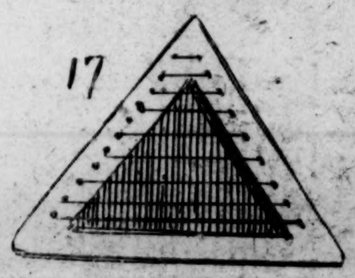
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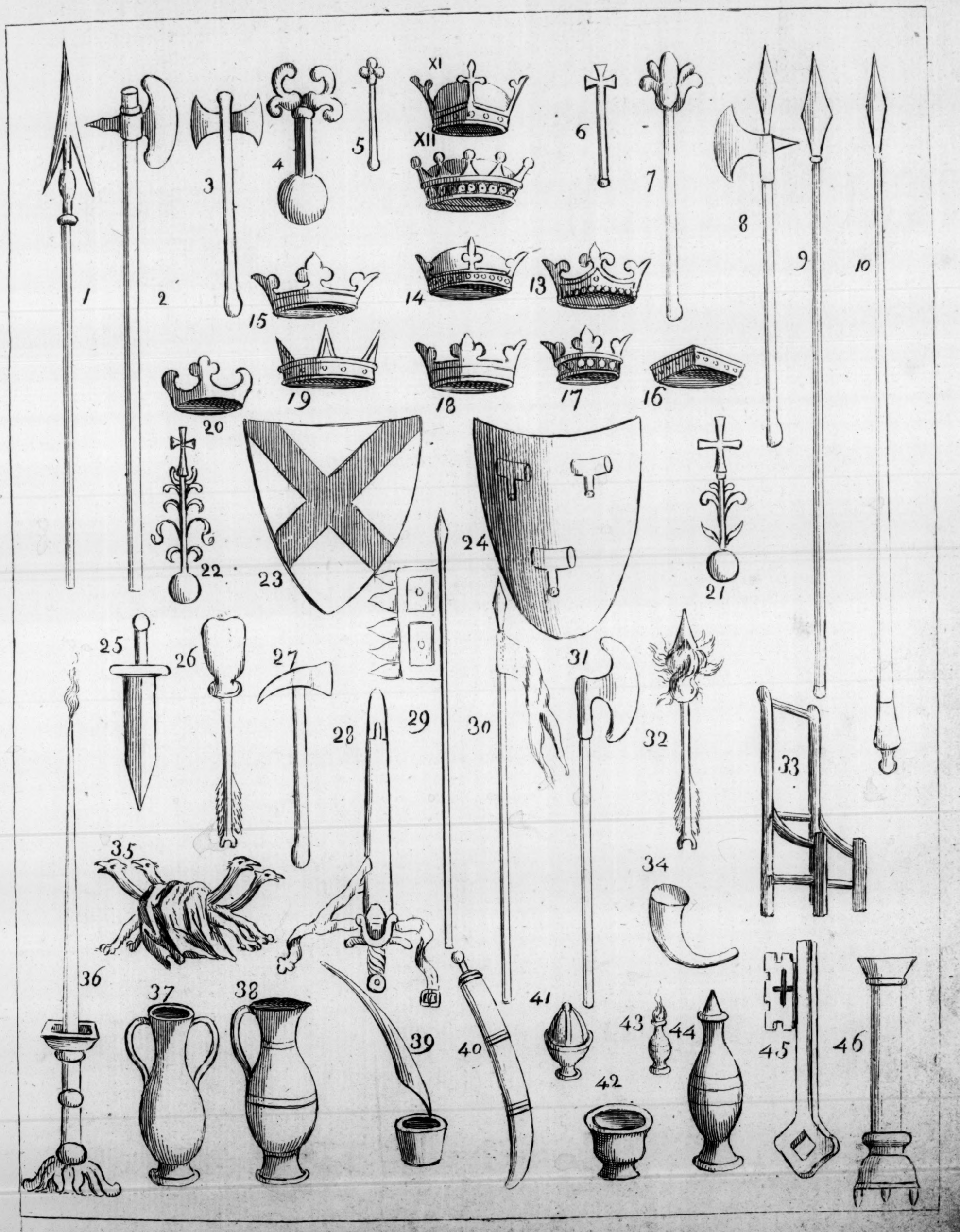
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Pisces 10



Aries 12



Taurus 12

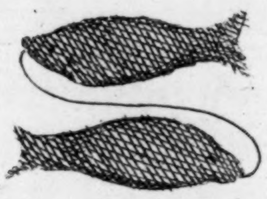


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Cancer















Virgo











Capricornus



Leo 13





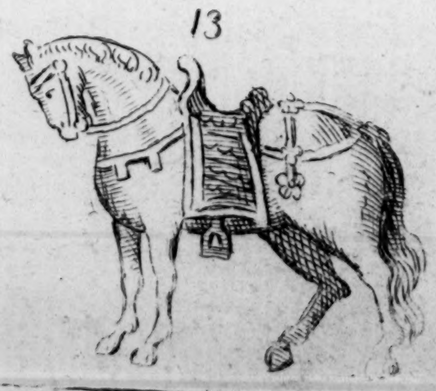
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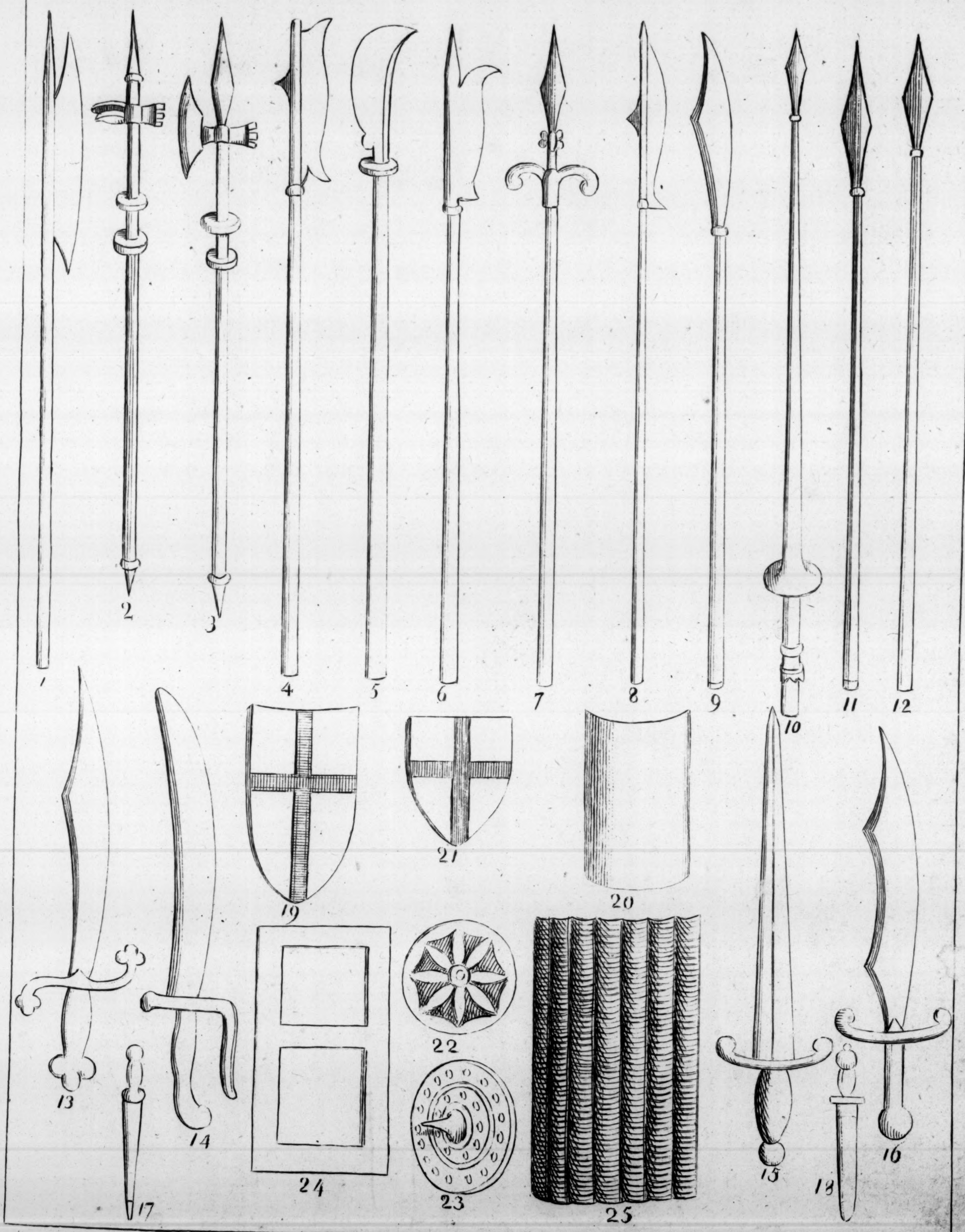


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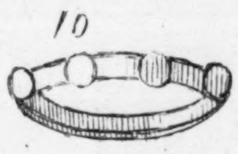

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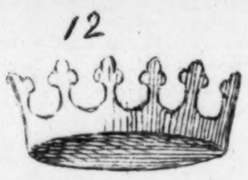

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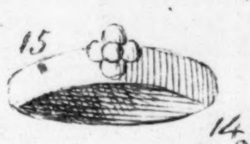

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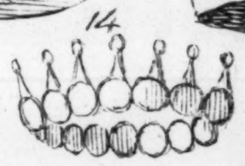

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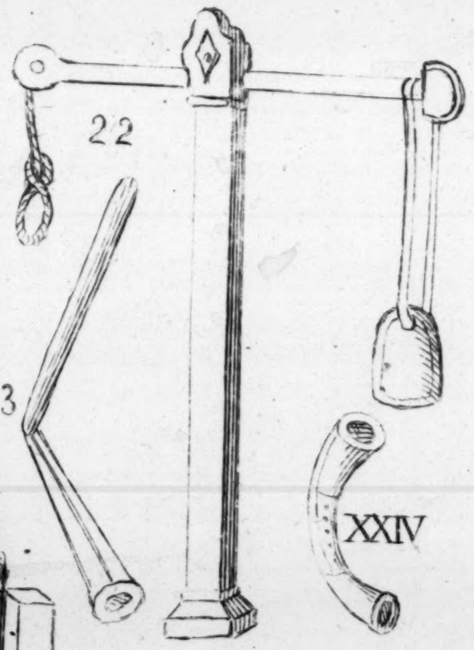

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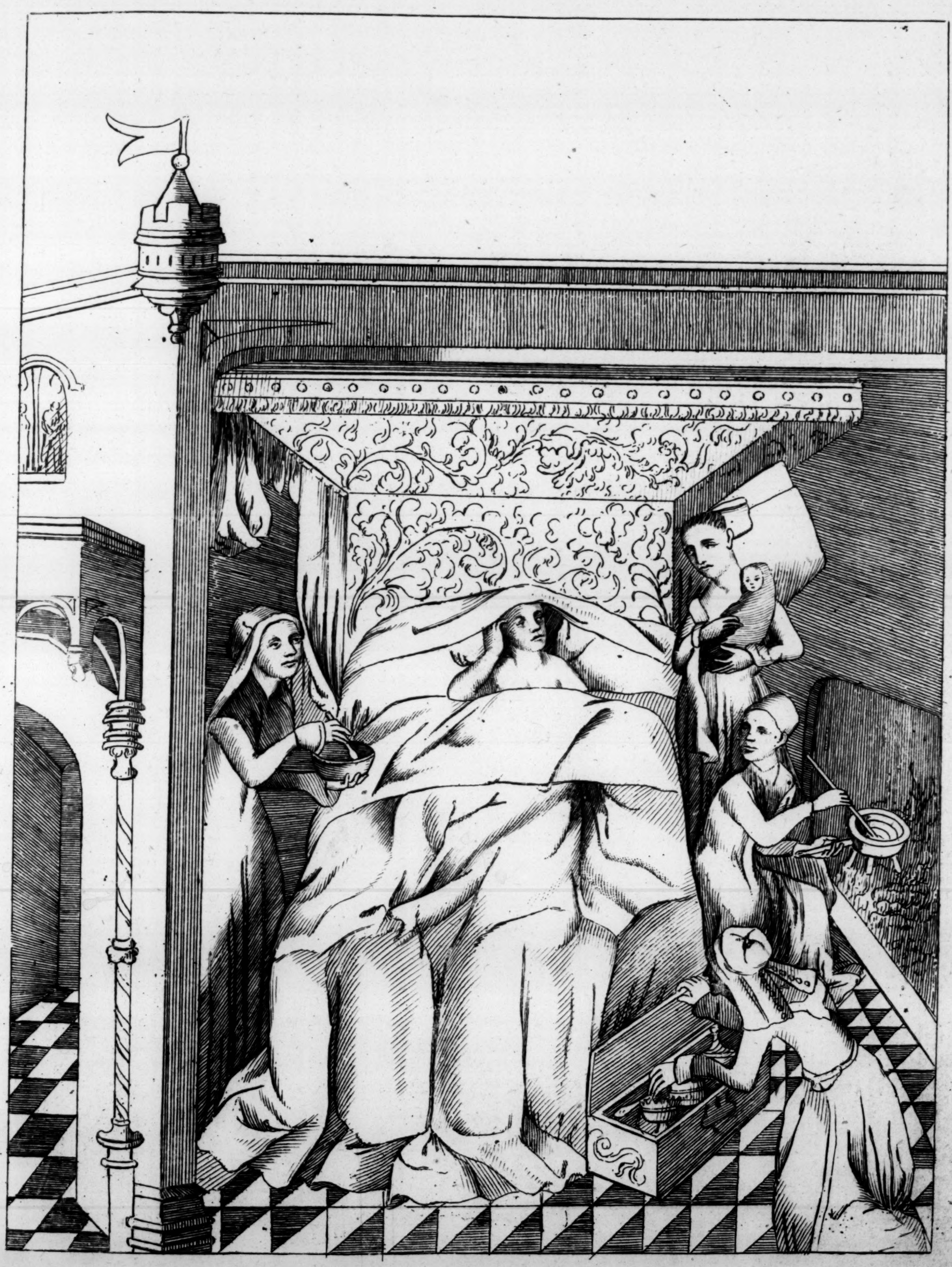

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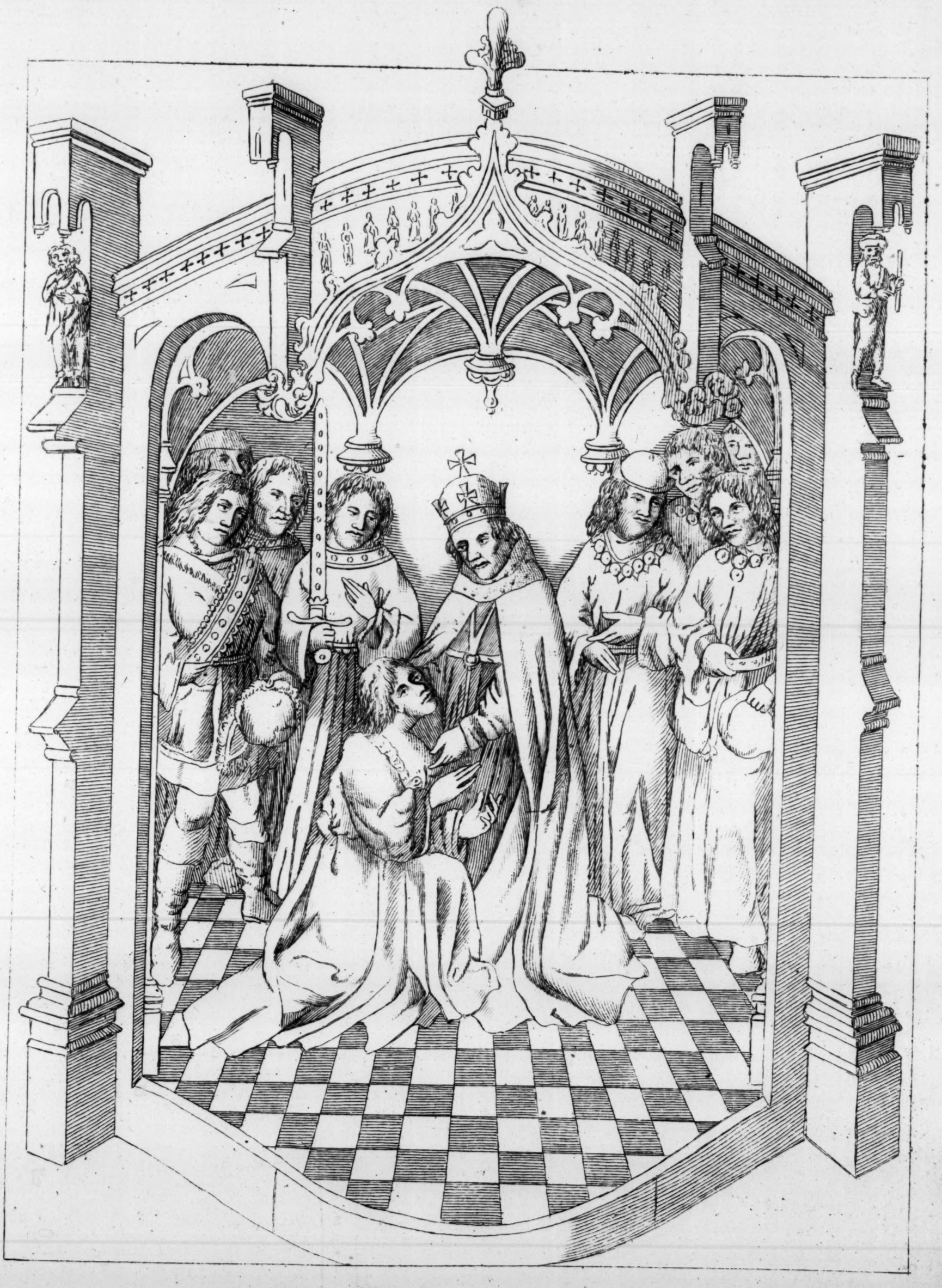
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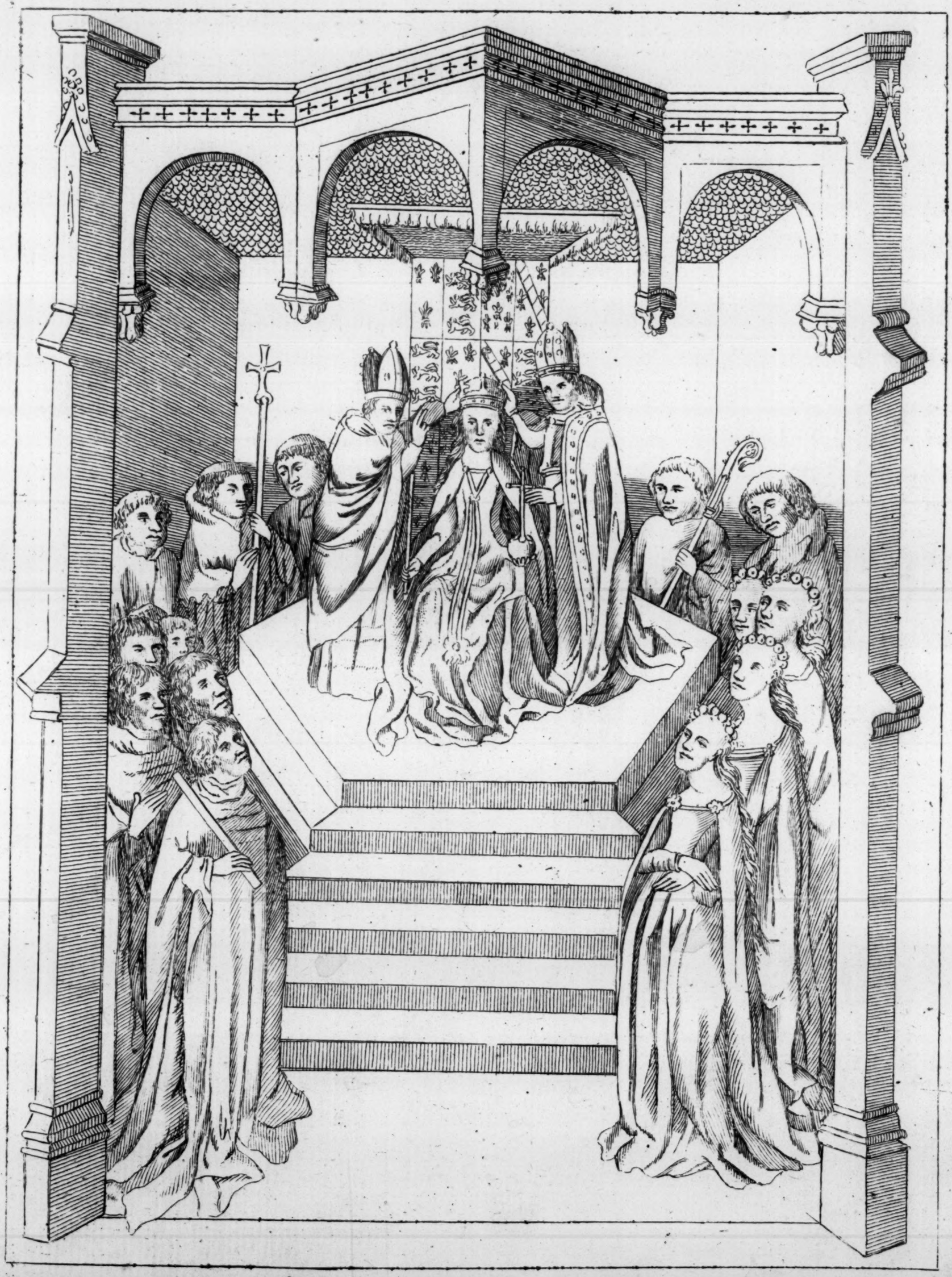
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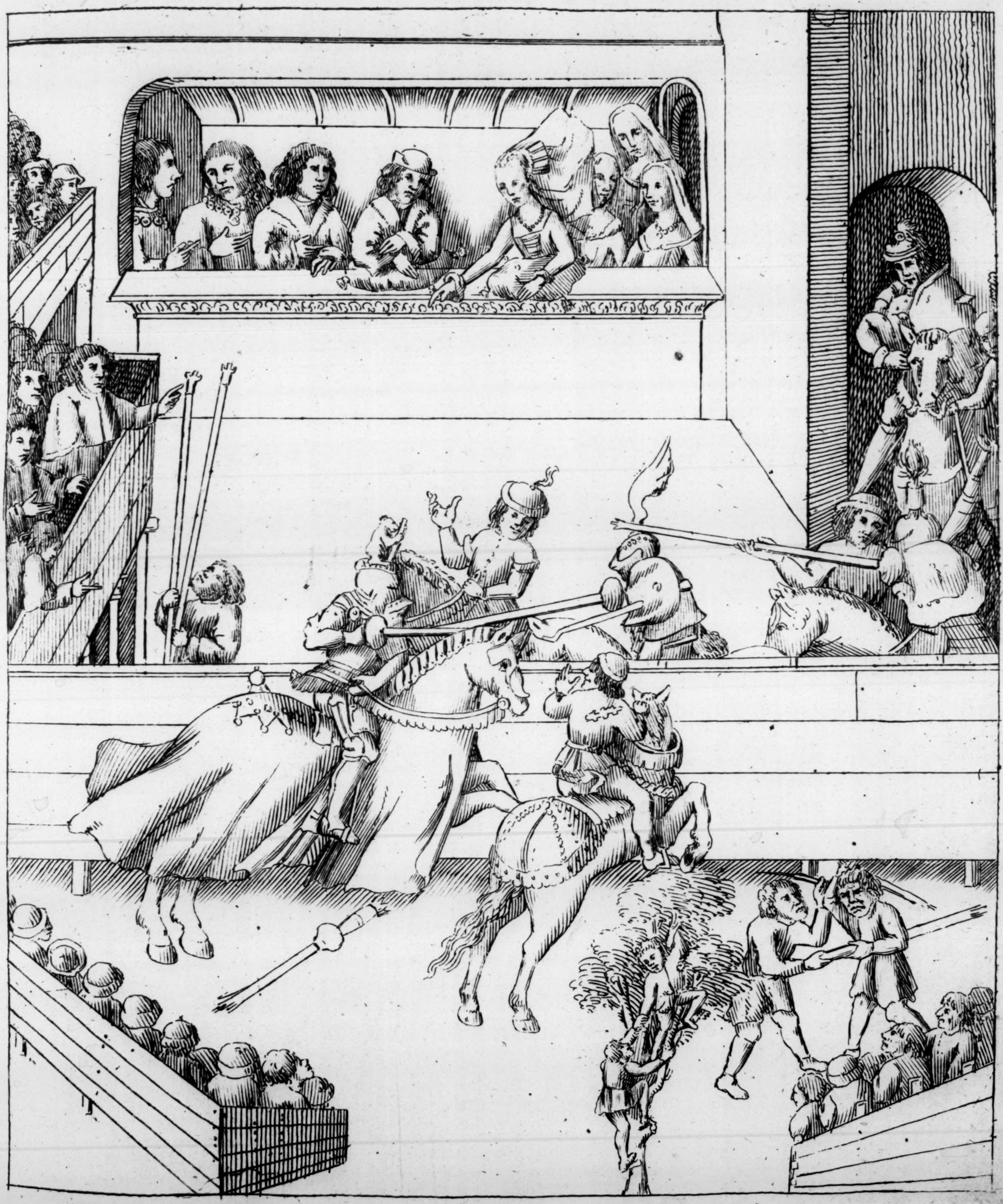
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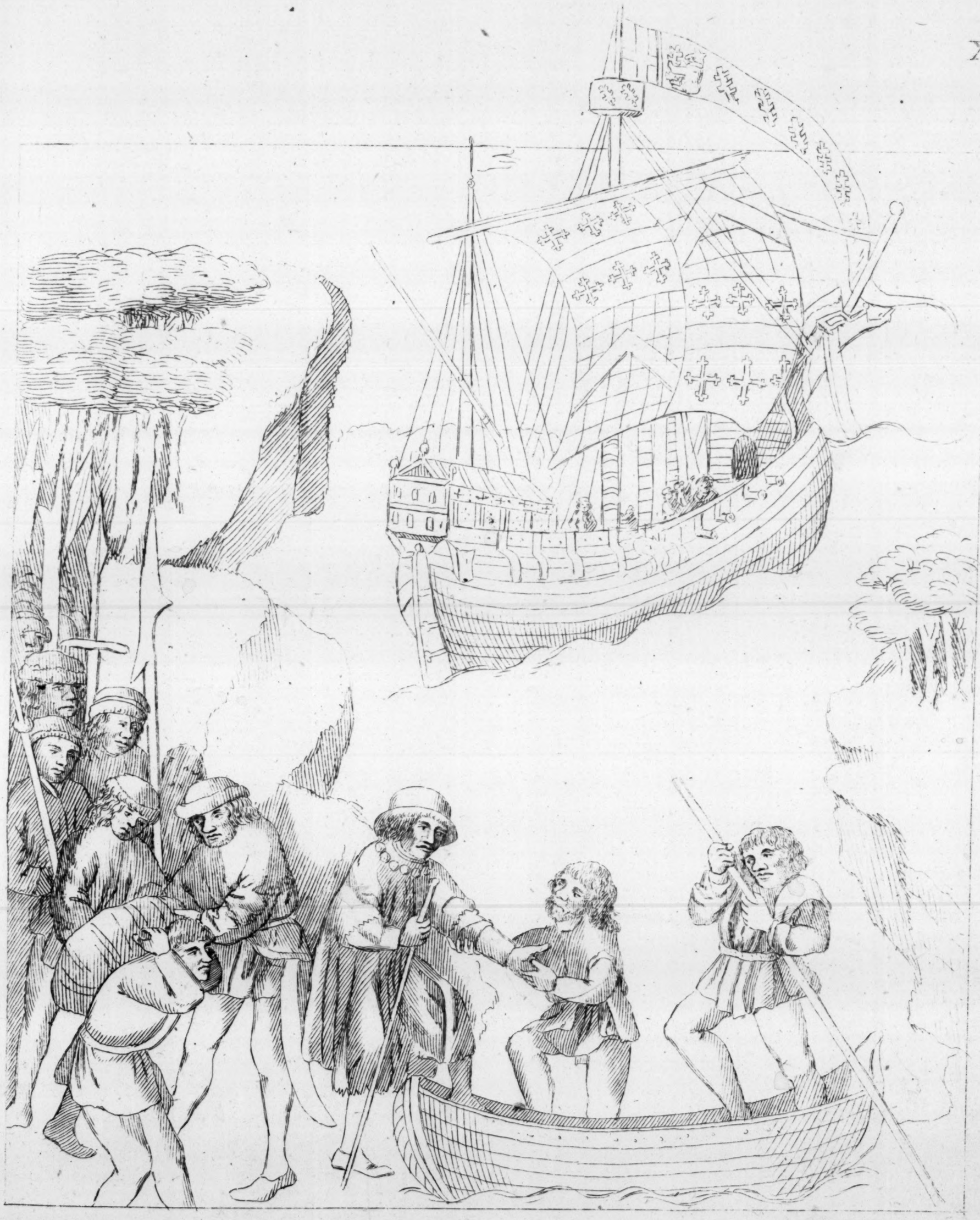
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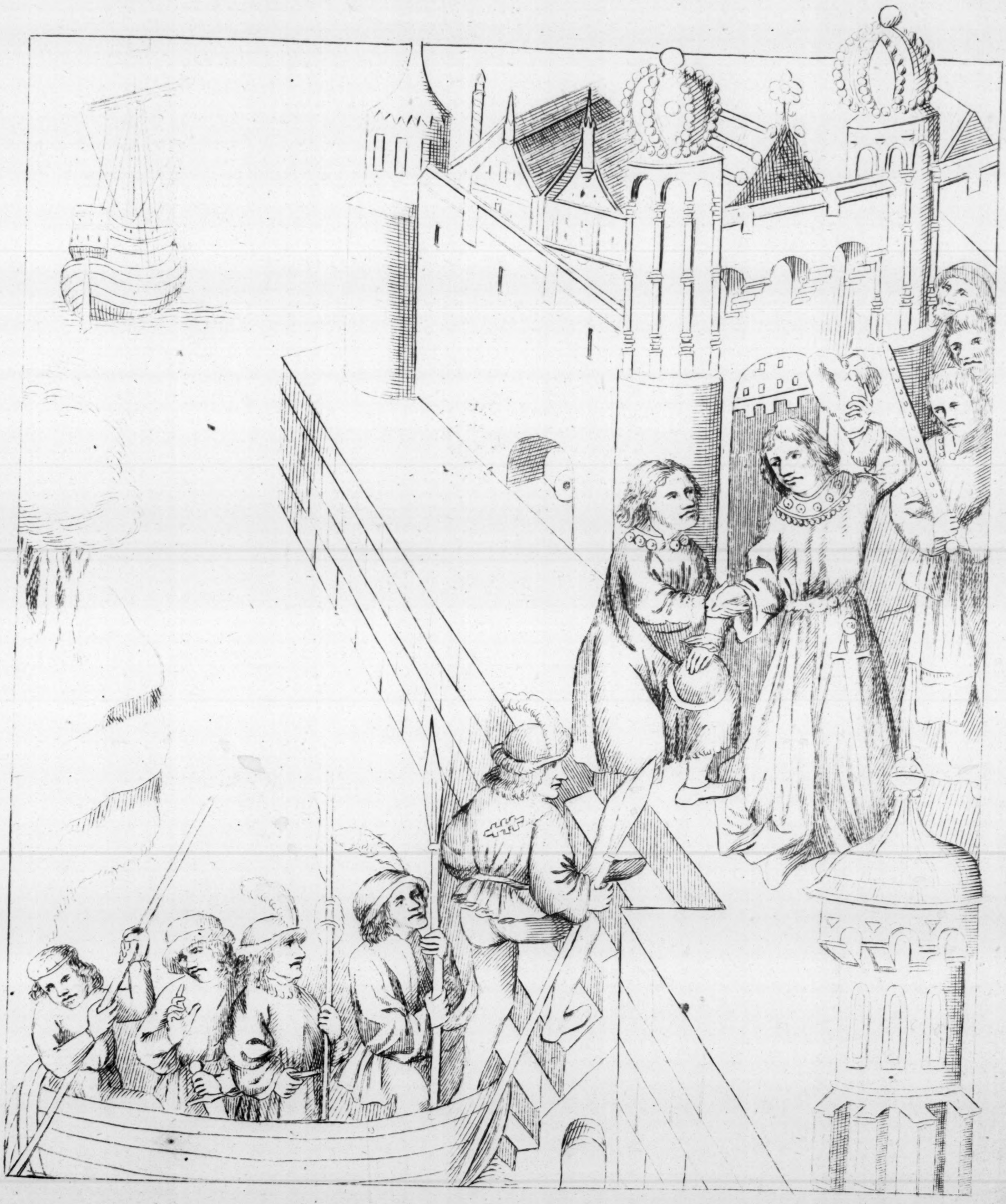
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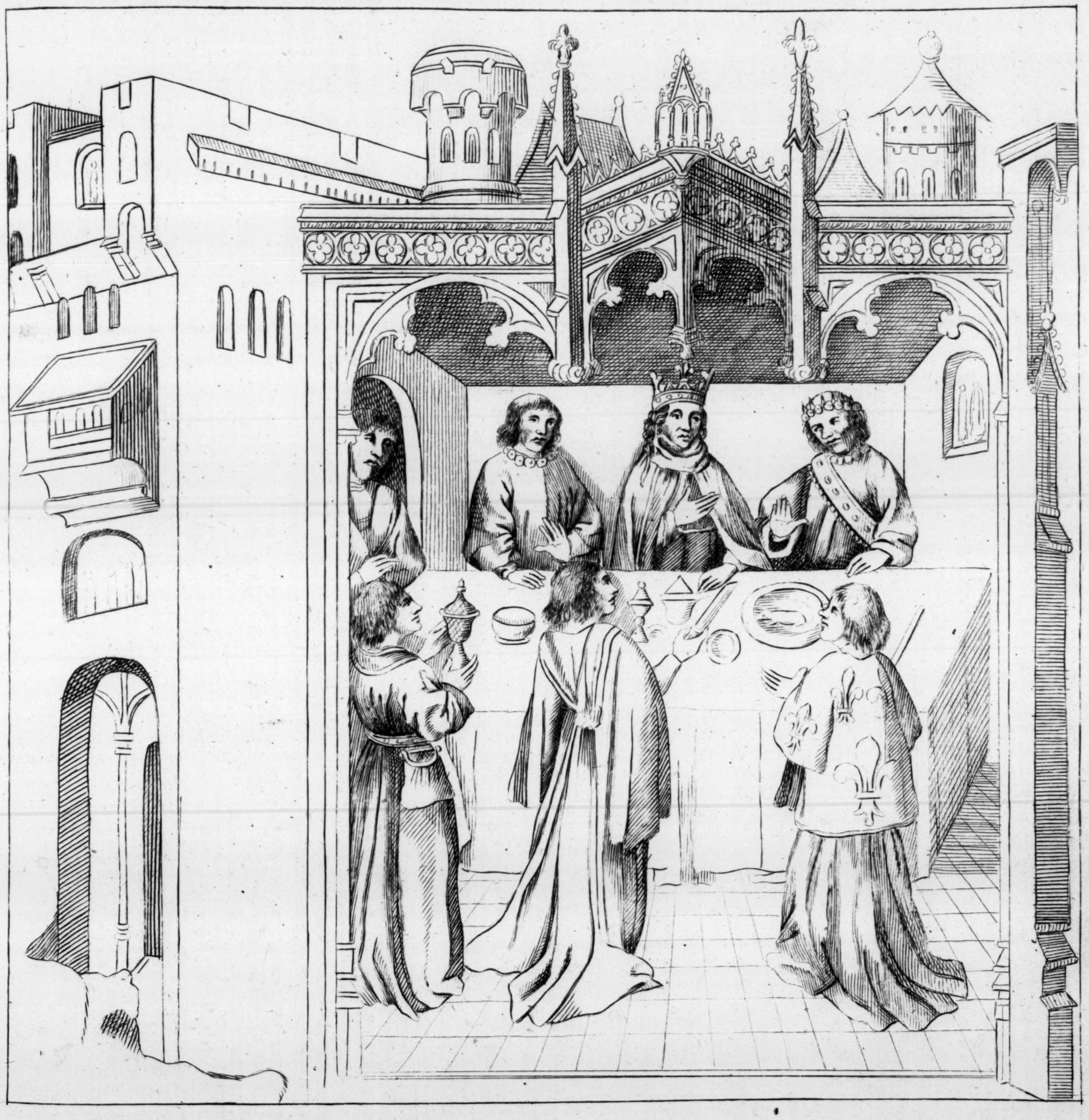
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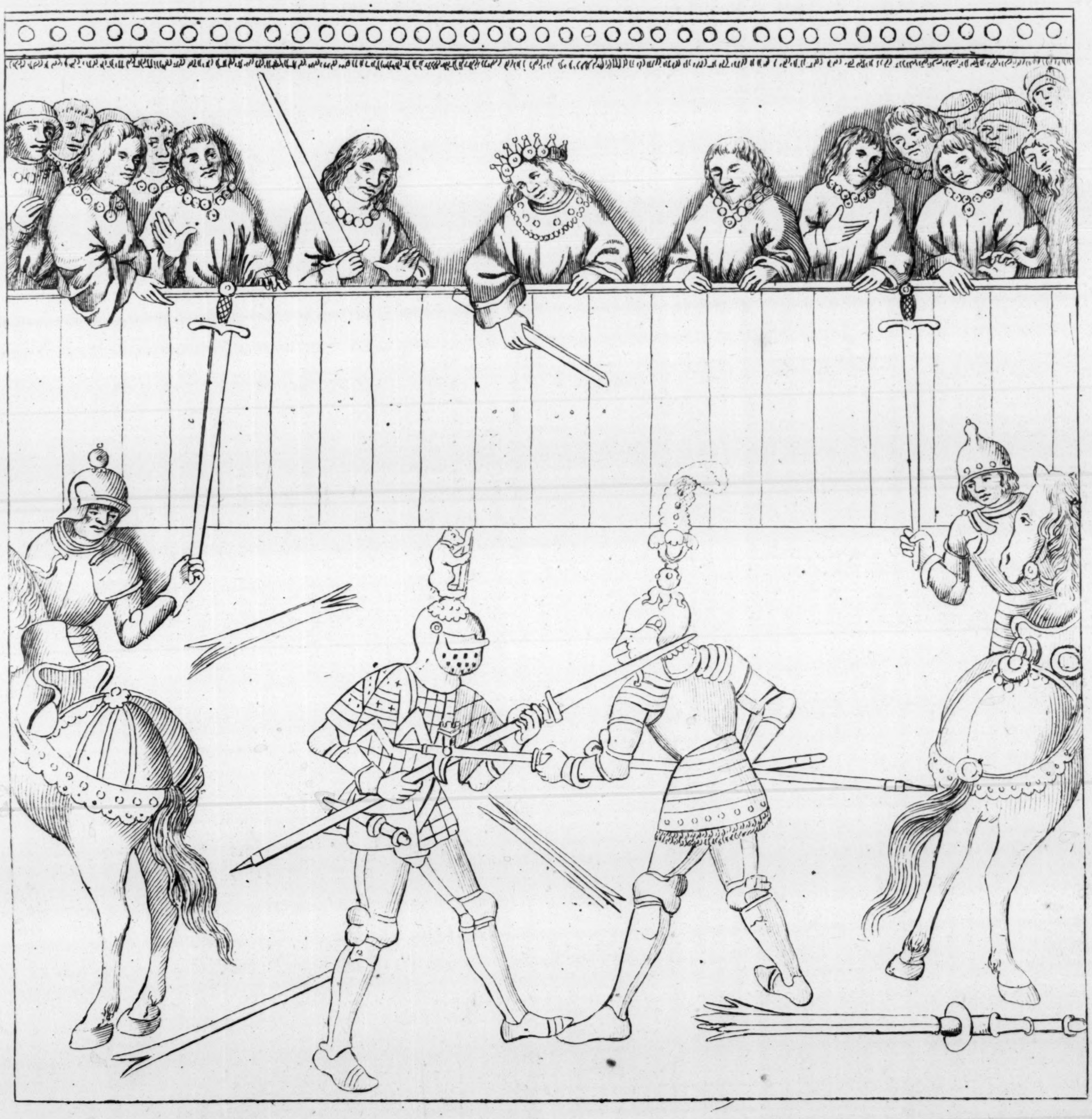
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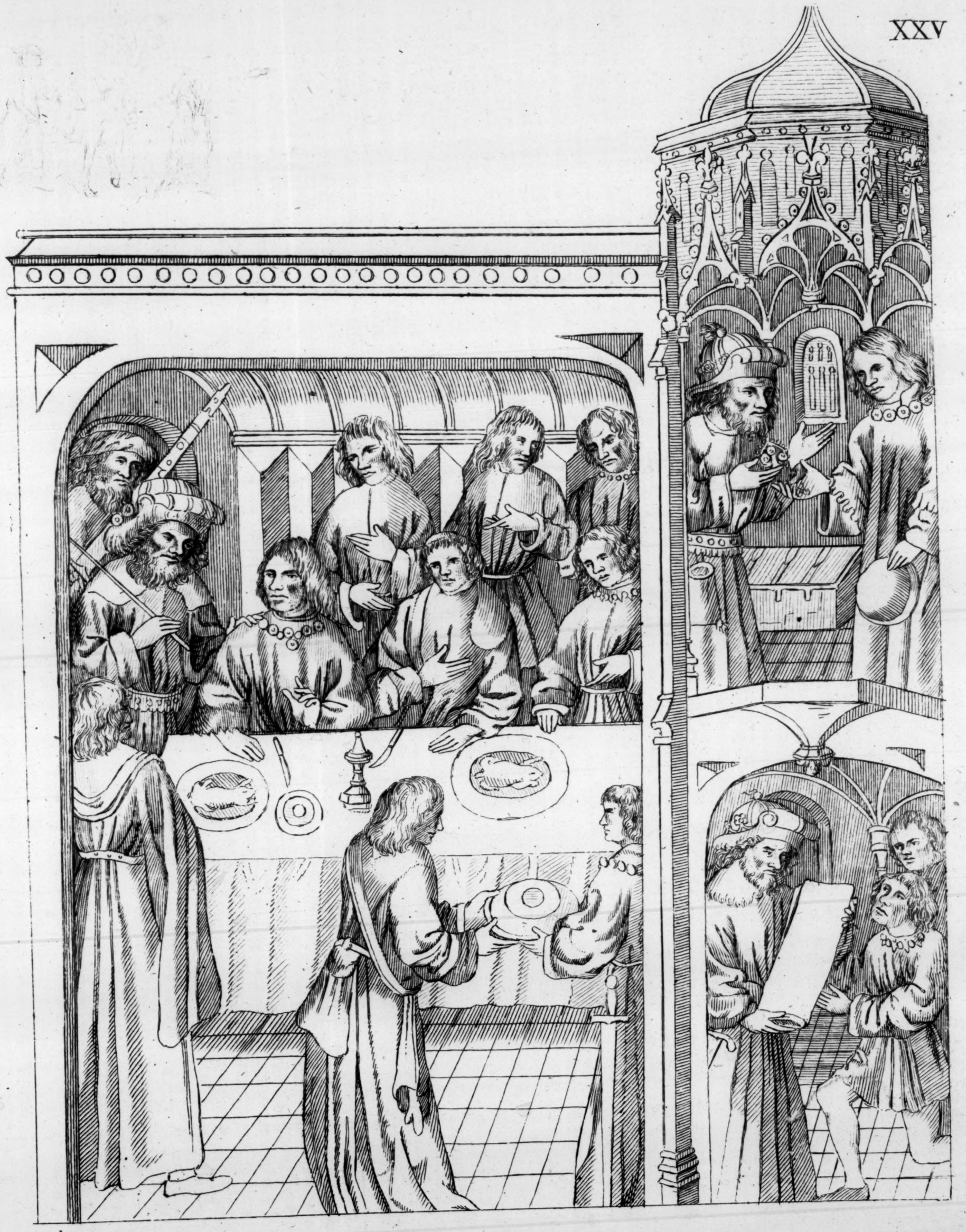
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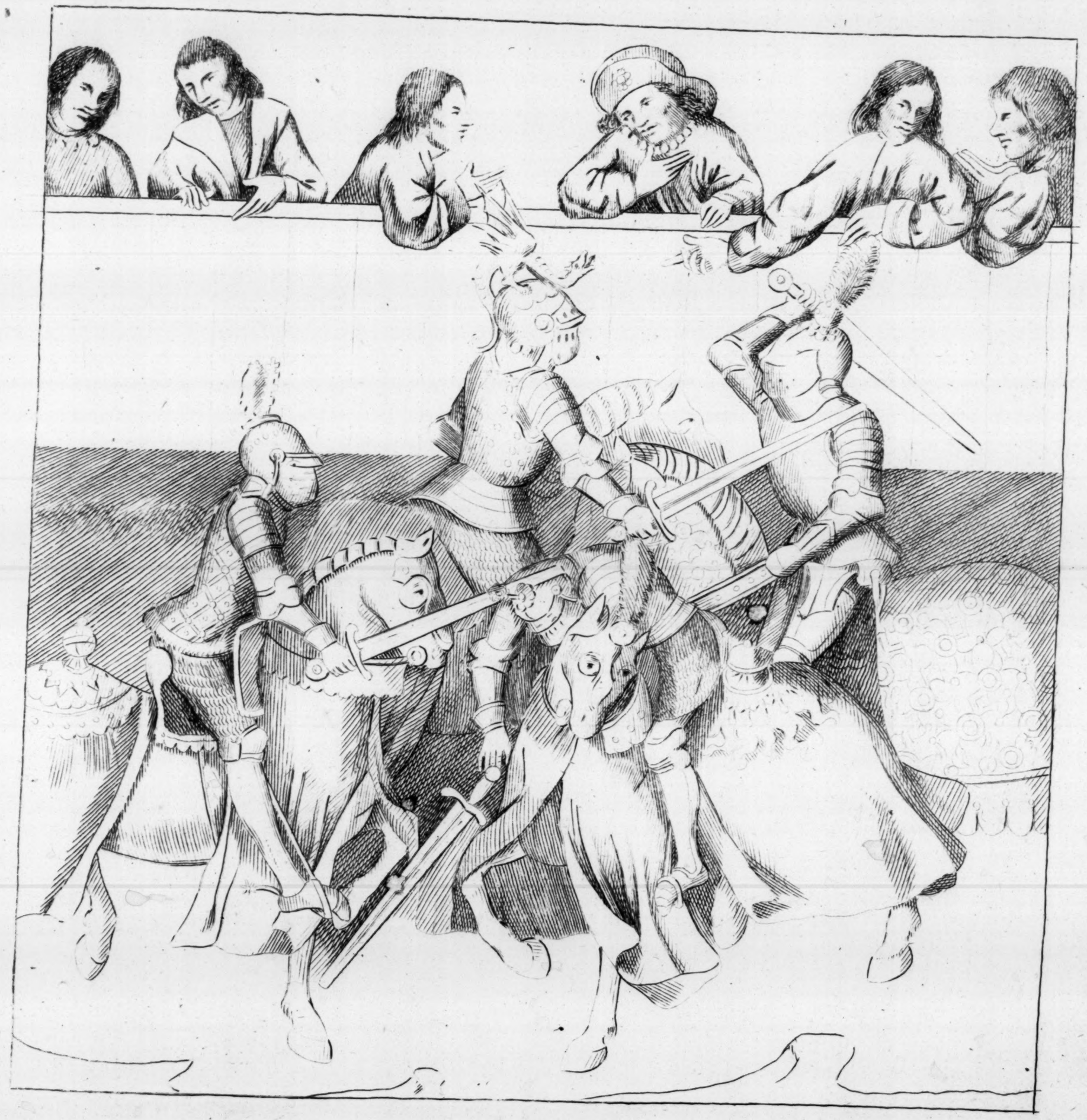
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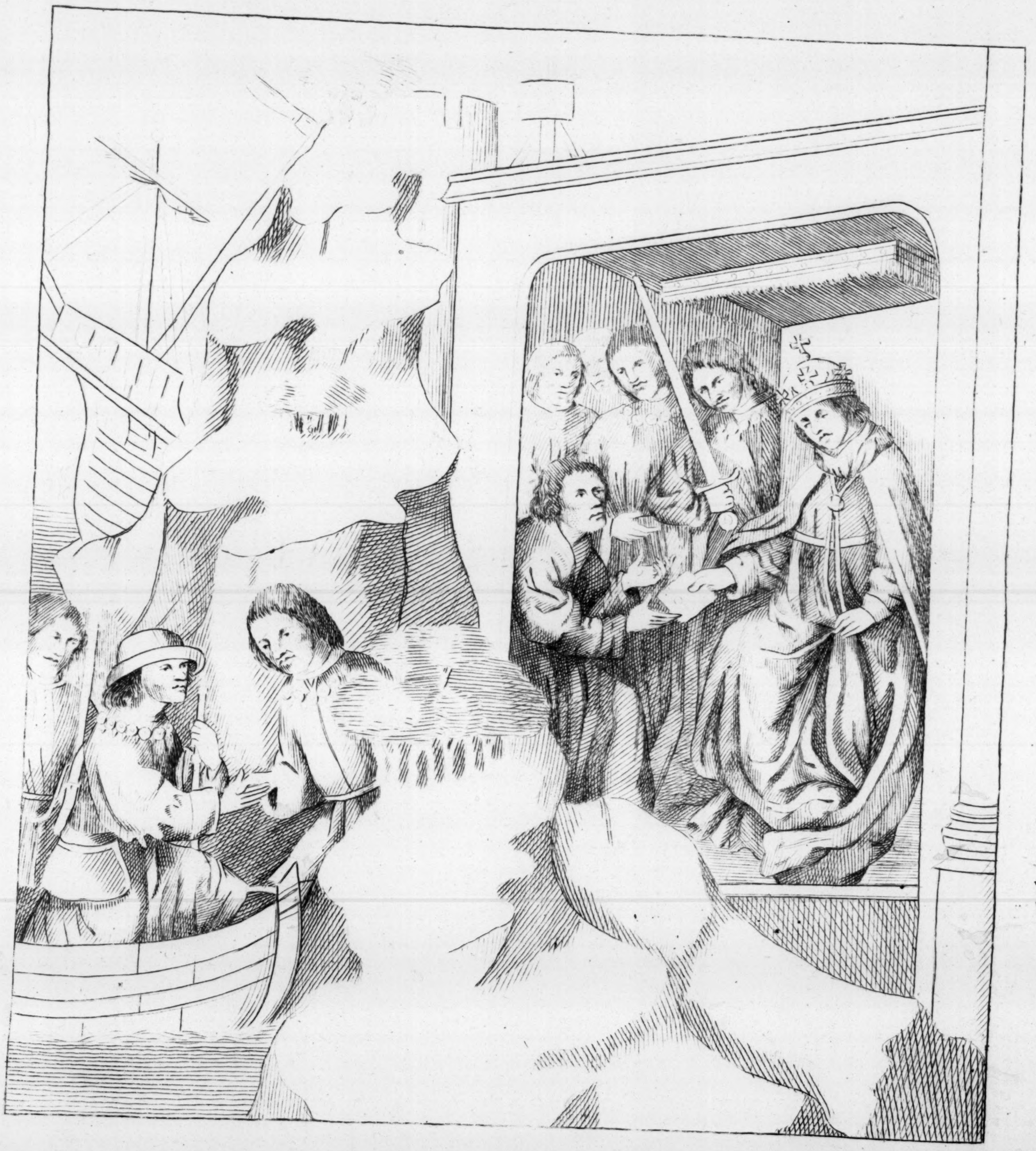
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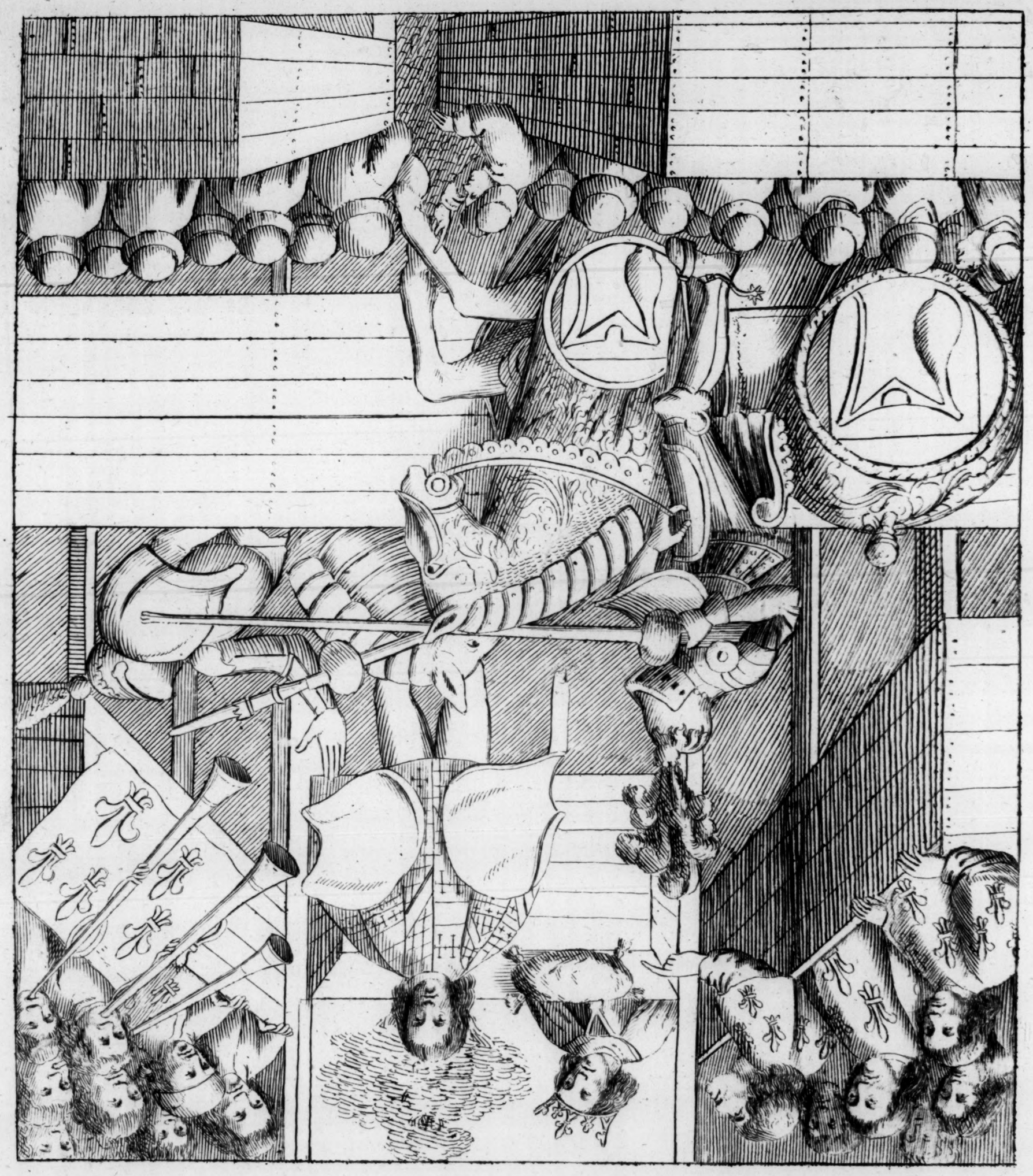
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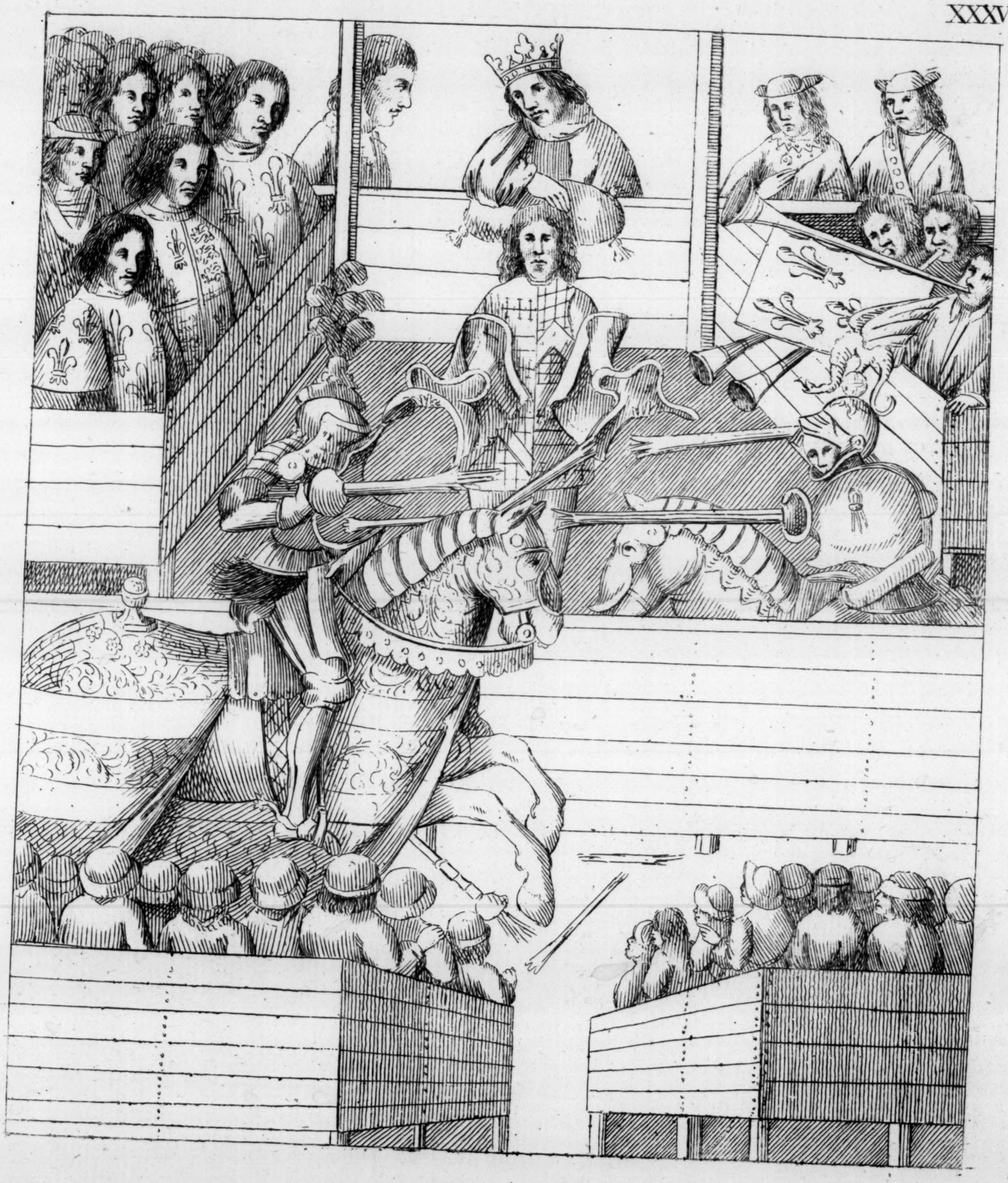
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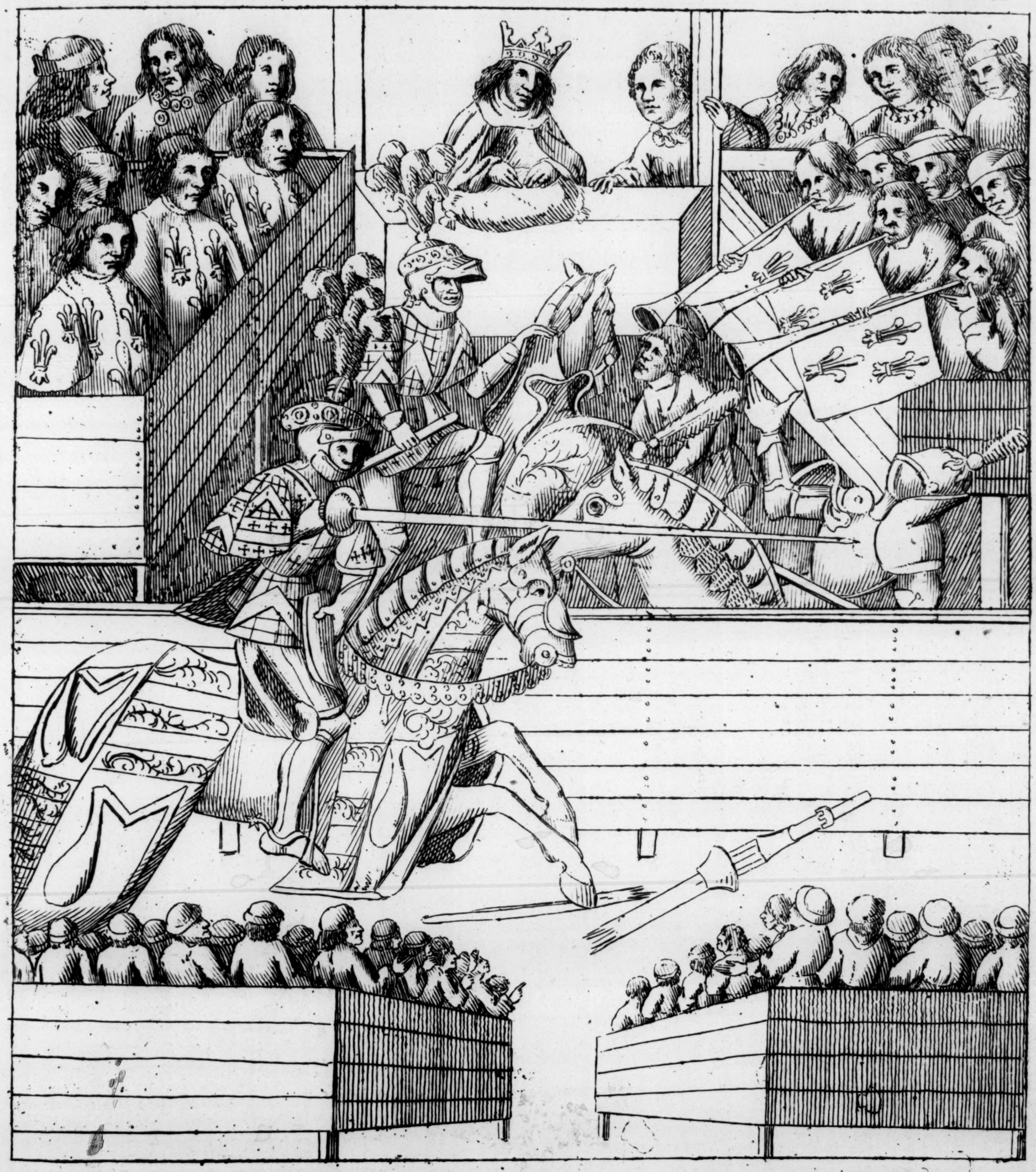
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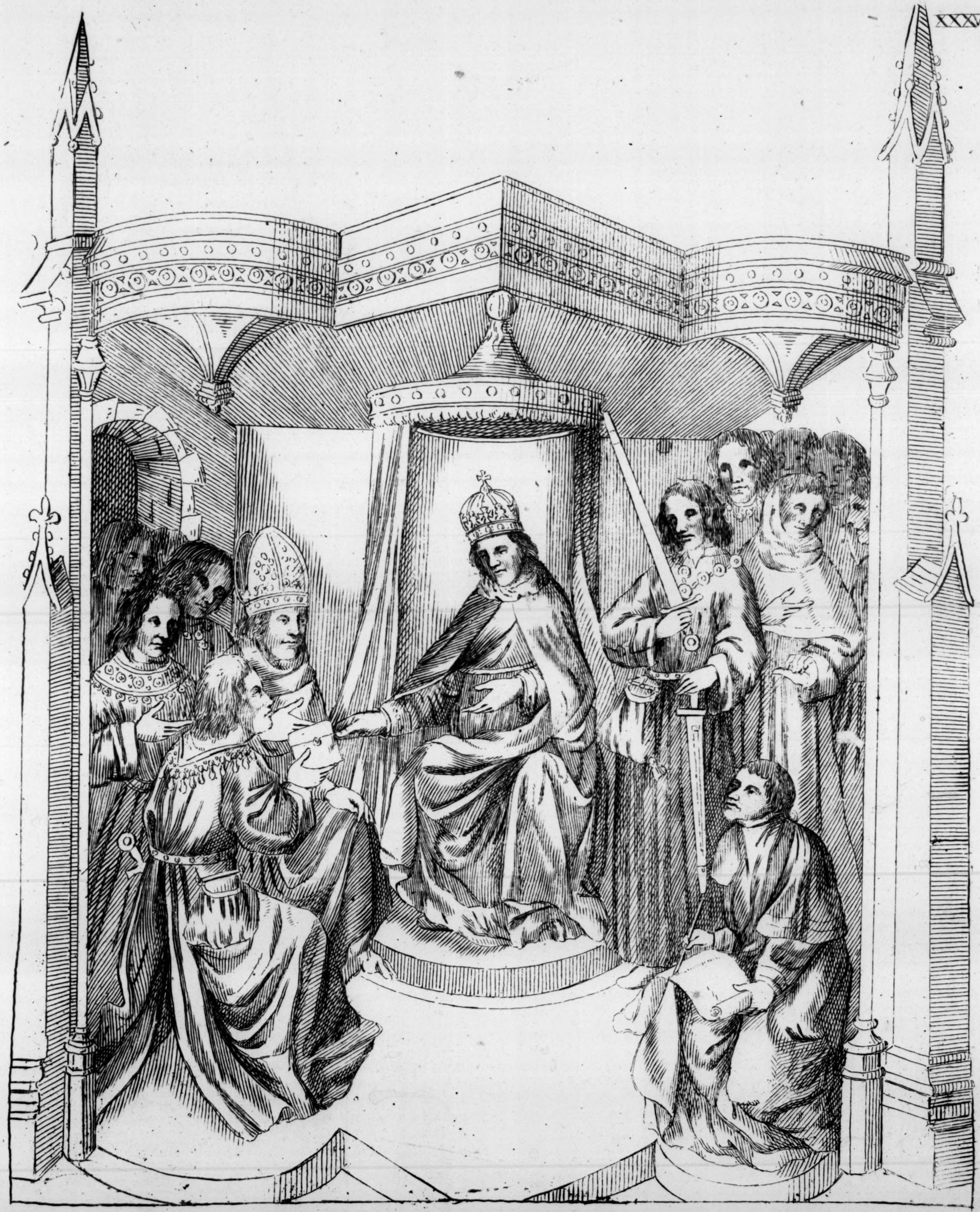
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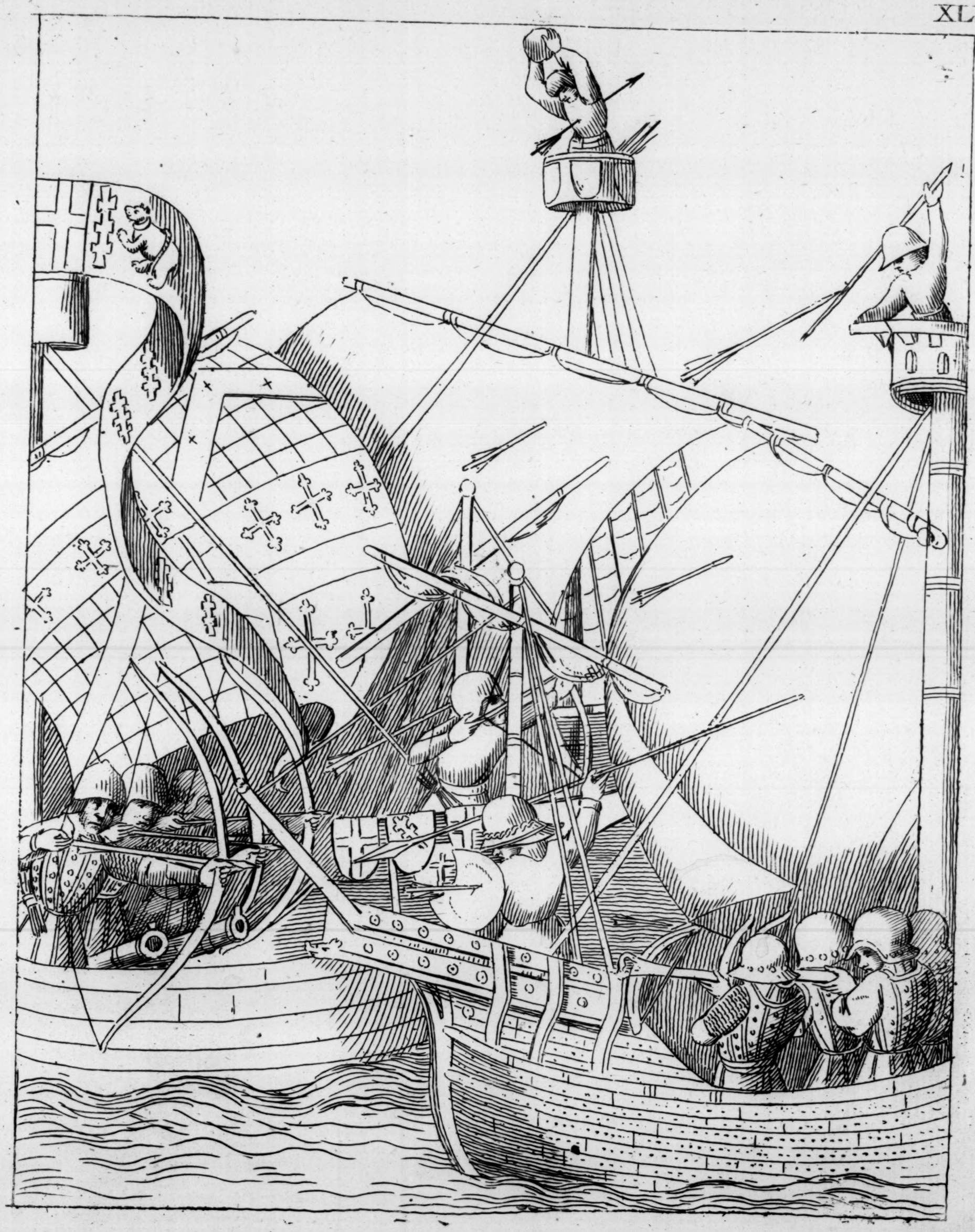
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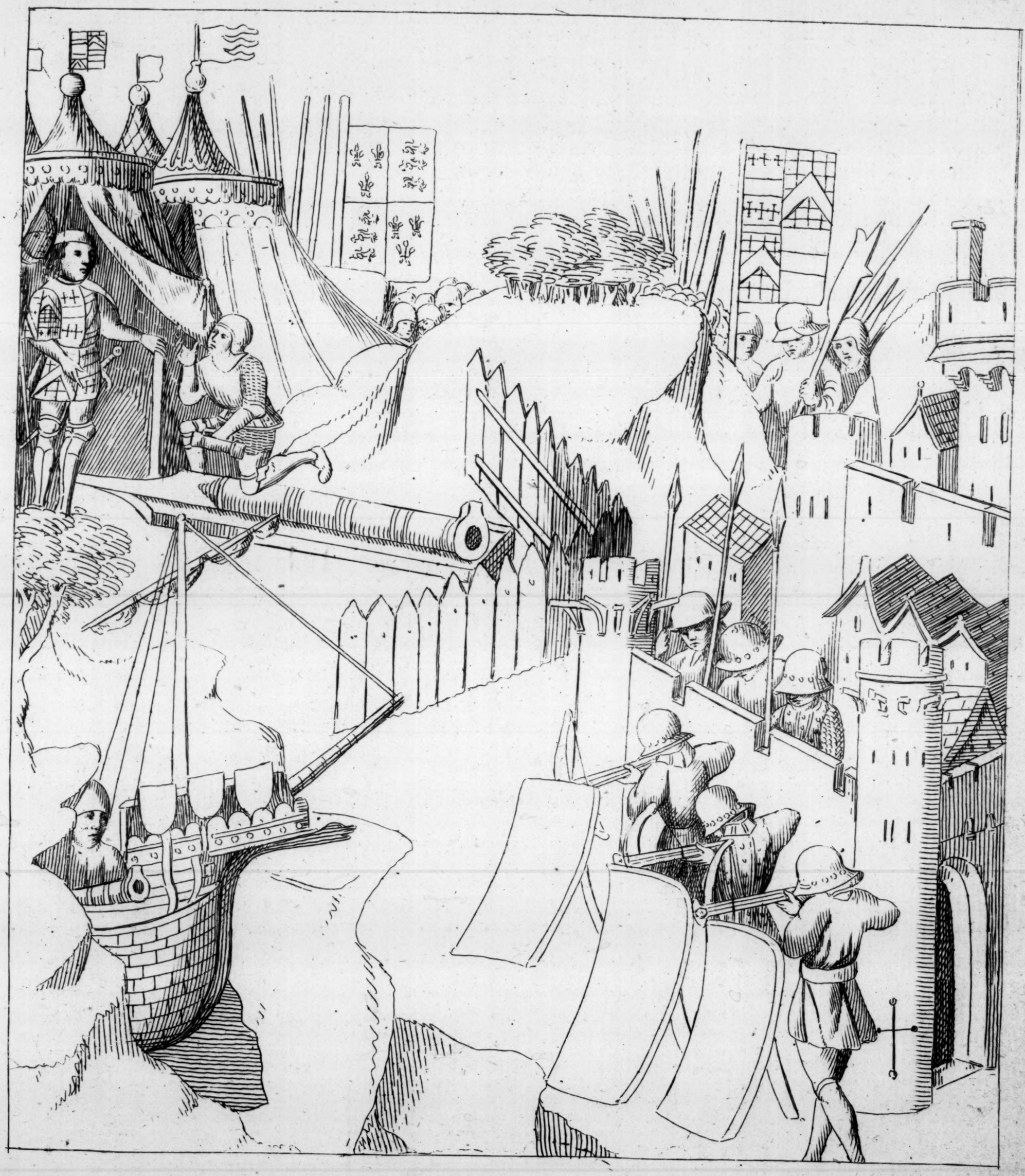
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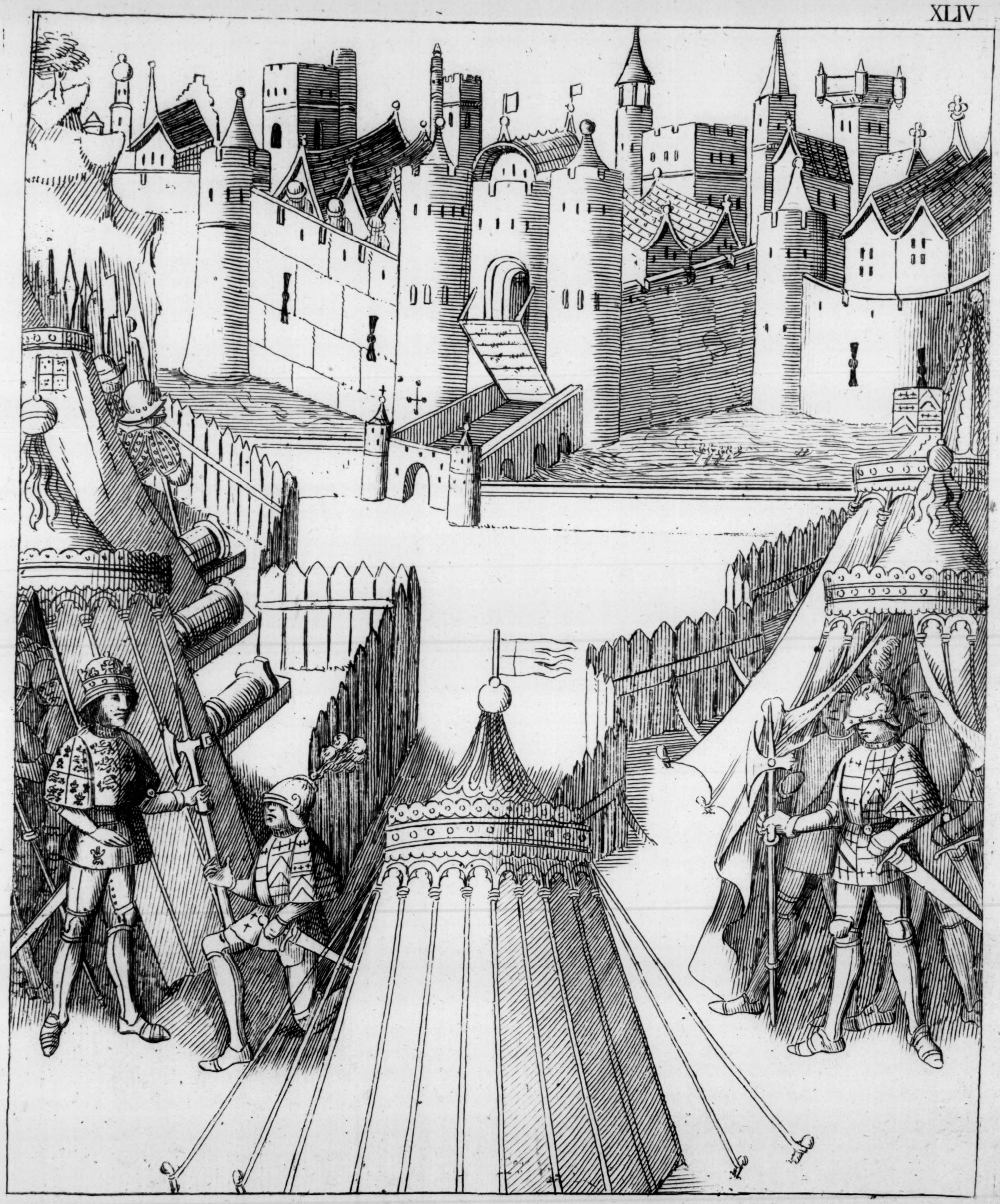
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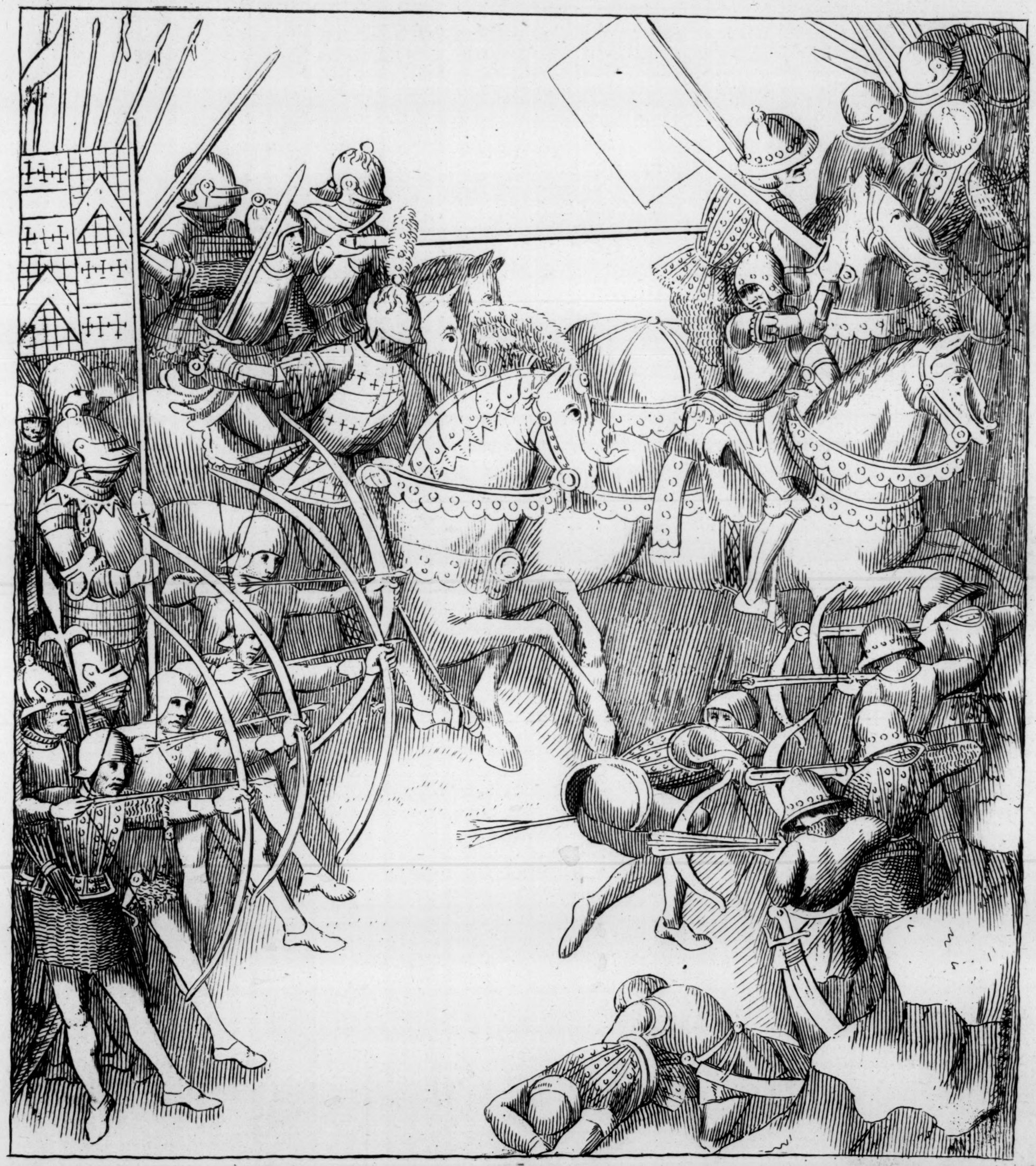
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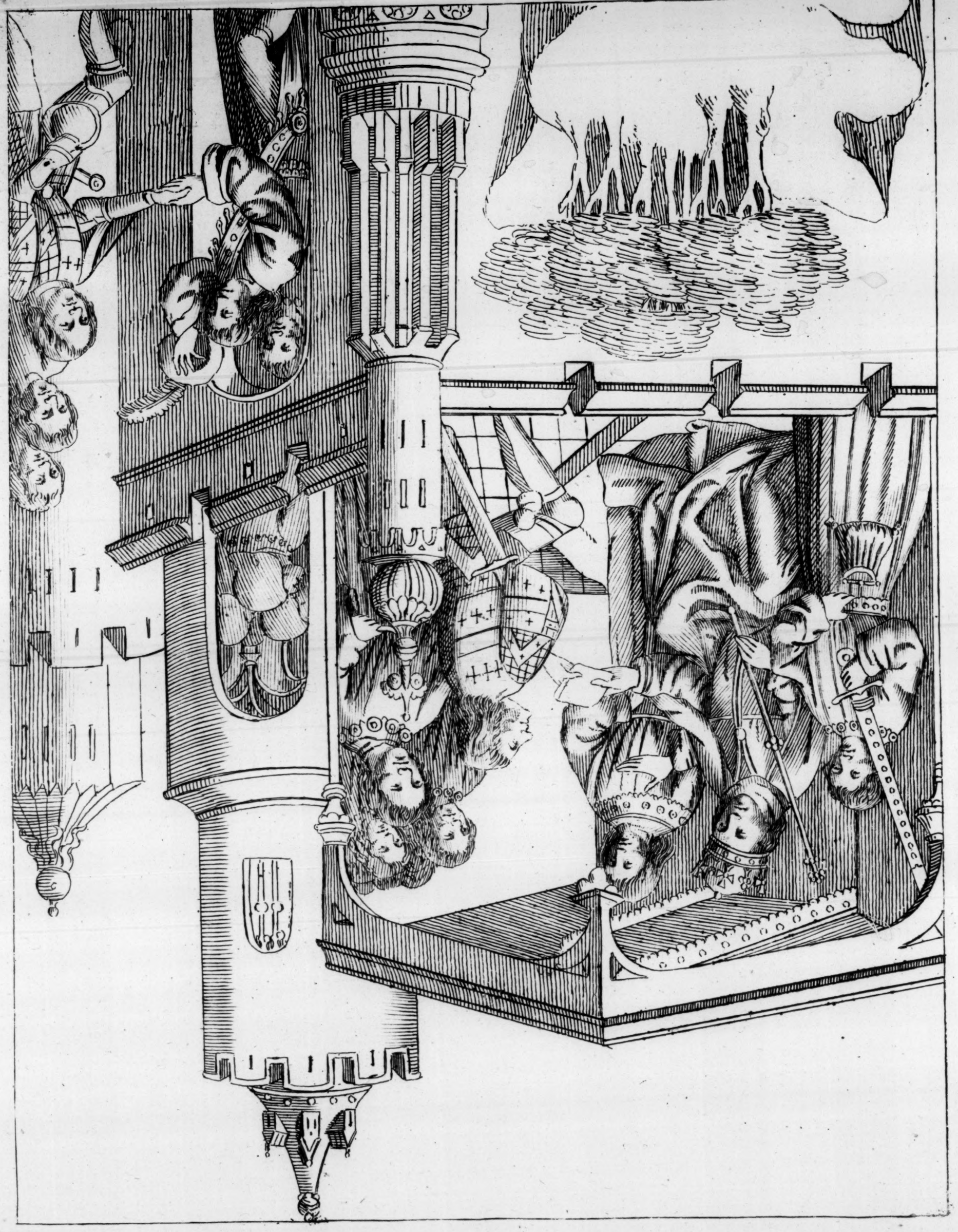


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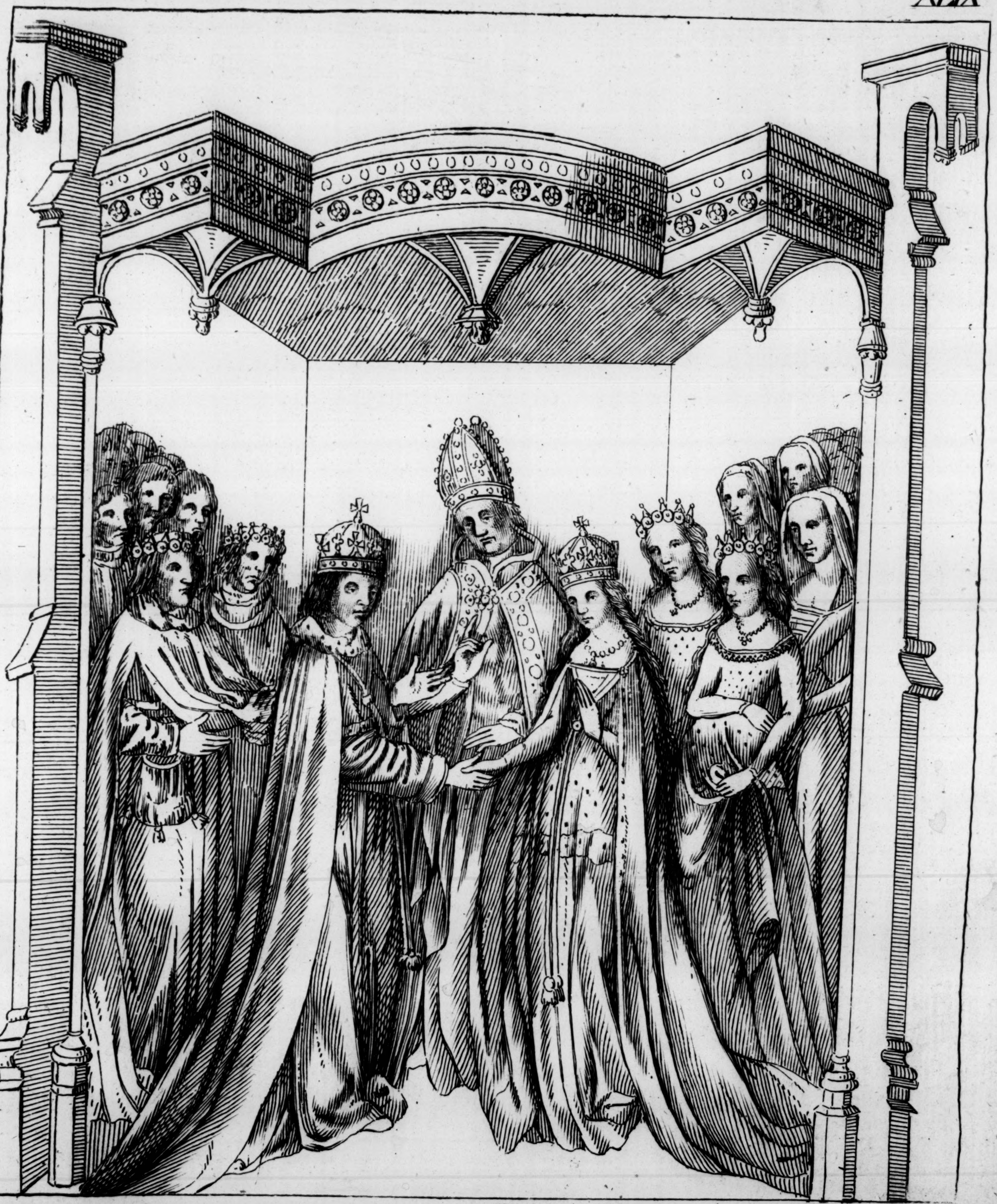


PLATE XLVII

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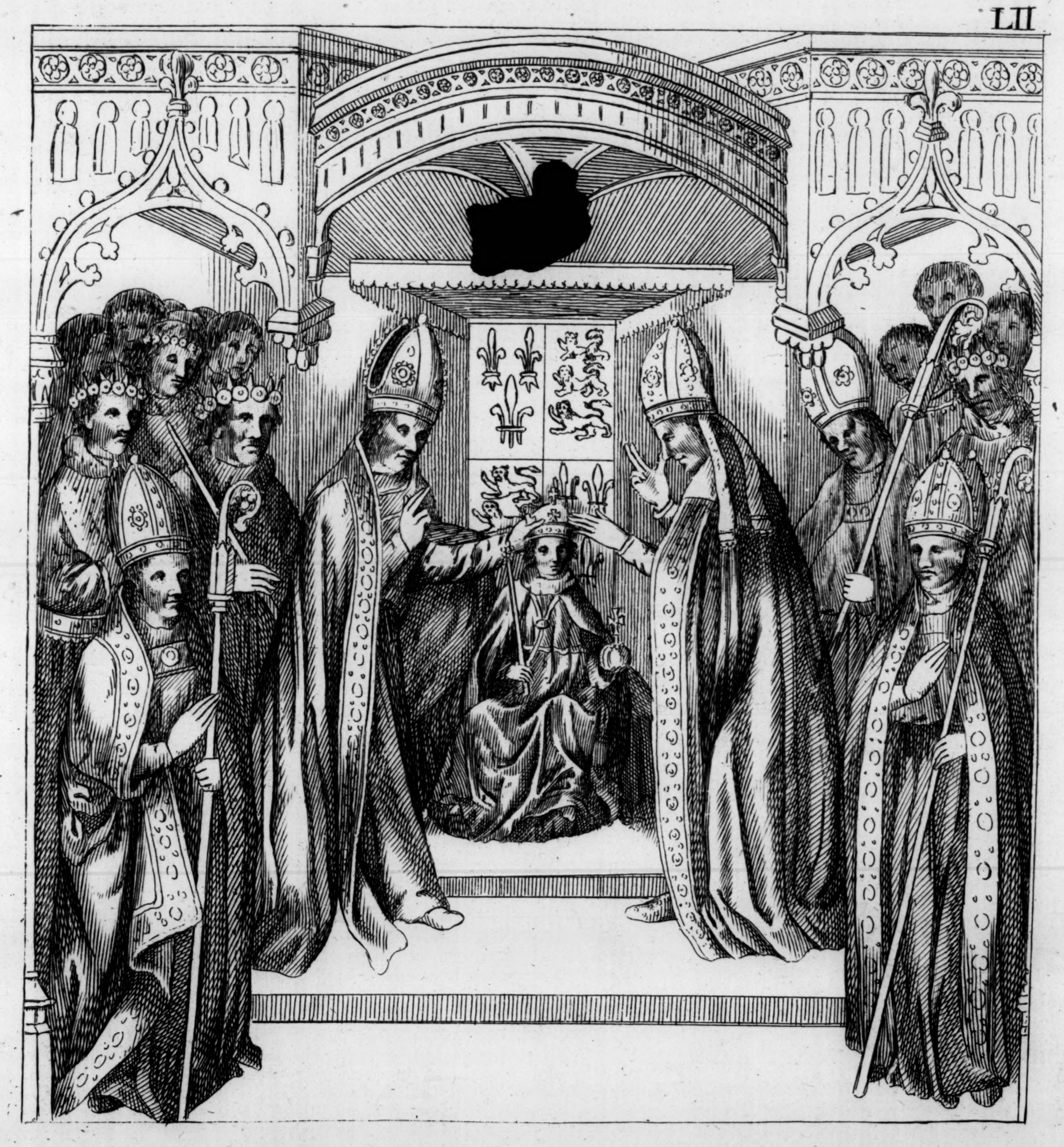


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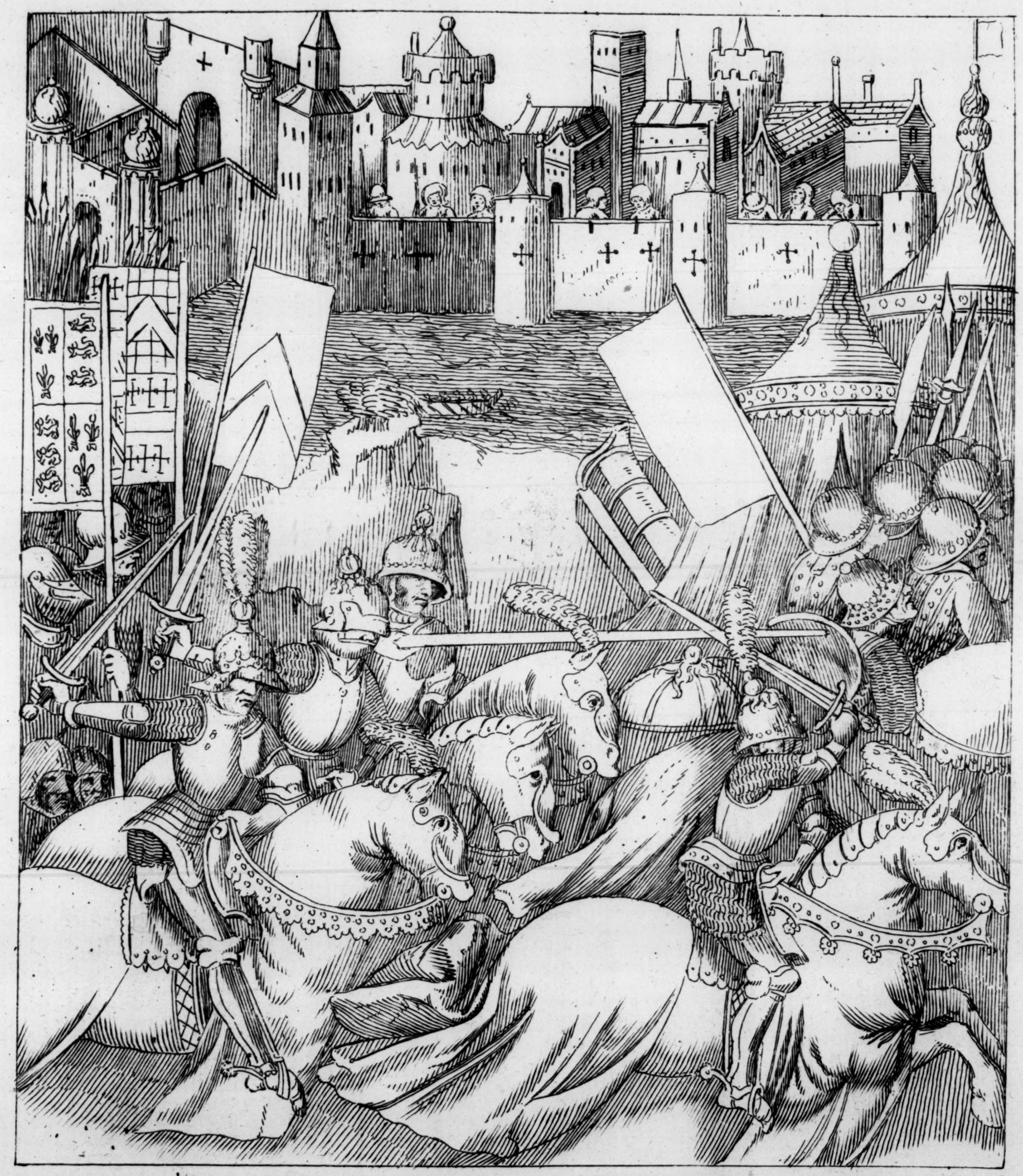
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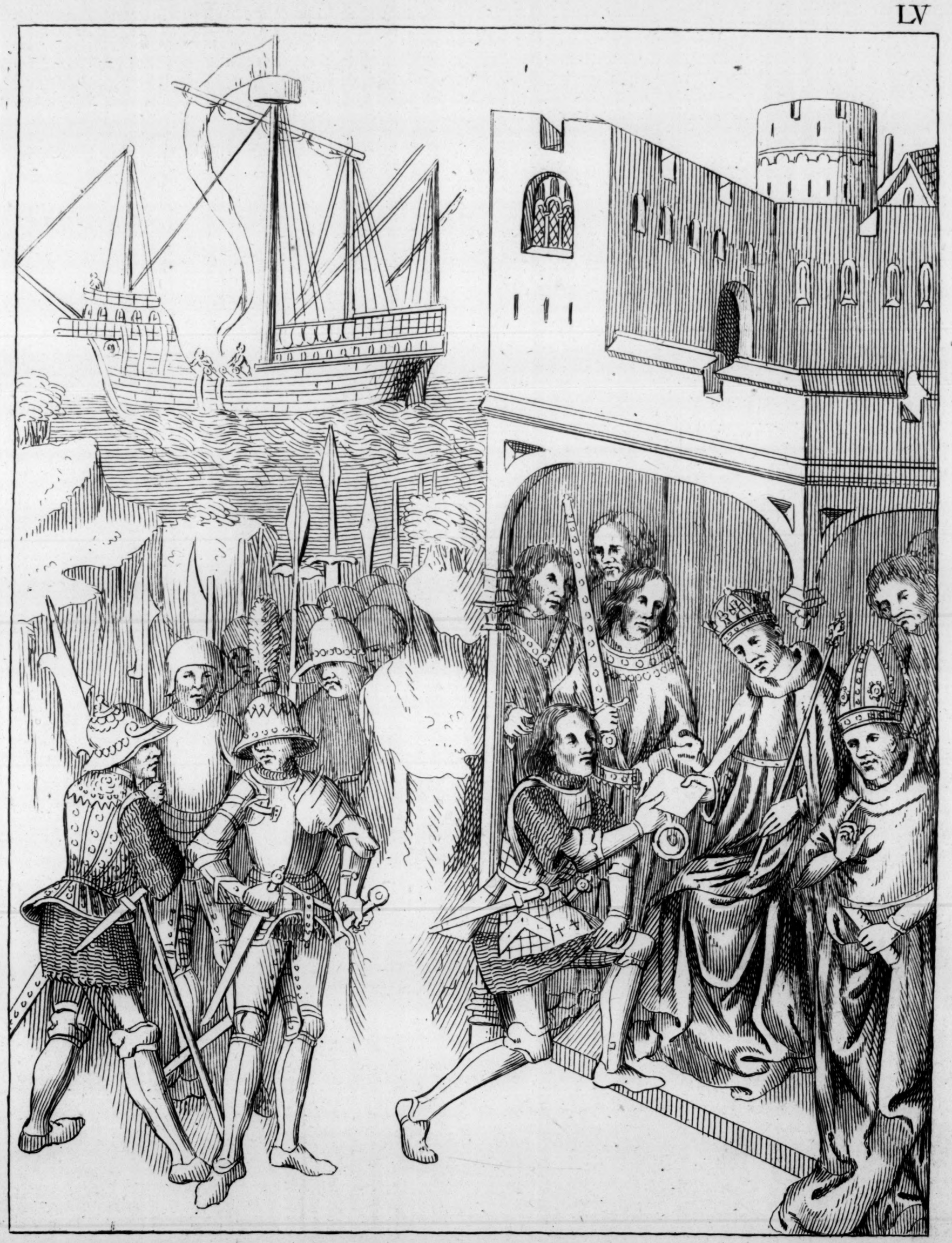
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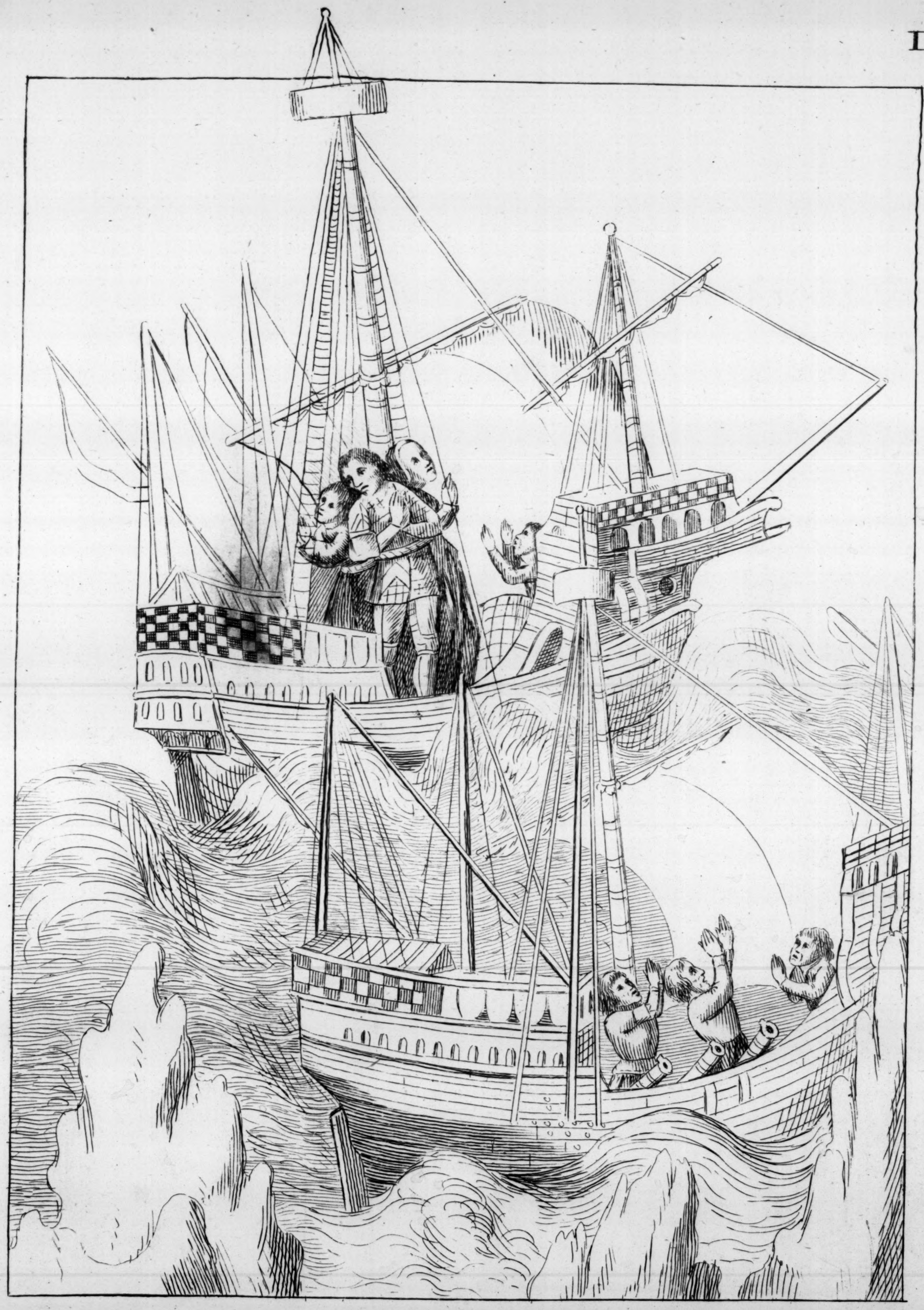
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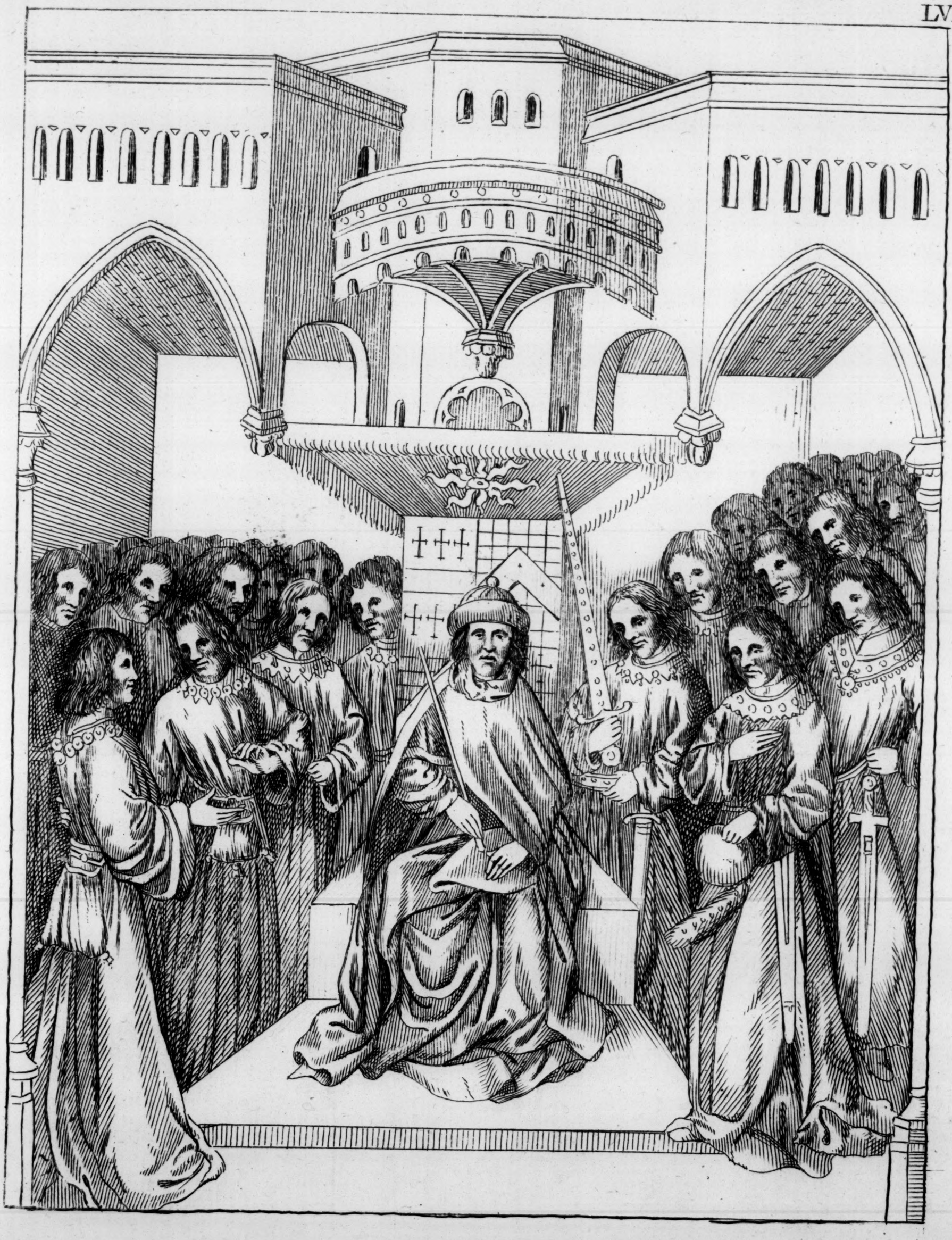
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